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CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

U.S. 'Accusation' on Krasnoyarsk Radar Denied 1
More on Soviet-U.S. Meeting of Retired Officers 1
Dobrynin Receives La Rocque 1
Retired Officers Comment 1
Further Reportage on U.S. Inspectors in USSR 2
Tour of Kazakhstan Plant 2
Far East Missile Base Visited 2

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Perfiliyev Holds News Conference 21 Jul 3
FRG's Genscher To Visit 3
U.S. Democratic Platform 3
Nagorno-Karabakh 'Tense' 3
REUTER 'Distortion' 3
Talks on Southern Africa 4
'Urgent' UNSC Meeting on Iran-Iraq Noted 4
Petrovskiy Views UN Disarmament Session *[MOSCOW NEWS No 28]* 4
West's Changing Attitude to USSR Viewed *[PRAVDA 19 Jul]* 6
Nonaligned Movement Discusses Cambodia 8
Dobrynin Receives World Economic Forum Official 8

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Reportage on Democratic National Convention 9
Dukakis Adopted as Candidate 9
Jackson Factor Marked *[PRAVDA 21 Jul]* 9
Borovik Comments Cited 10
Carlucci To Visit USSR 'Beginning of August' 11
Reagan 'Captive Nations Week' Proclamation Noted 11
Estonians 'Perplexed' 11
Criticized by Lithuanian 11
U.S. To Use Astronauts for Military Surveillance *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 6 Jul]* 12
Kuznetsov on Nixon View of Gorbachev Policy *[ZA RUBEZHOM No 29]* 13
Lexington Judgment Exposes U.S. 'Persecution' *[Kudryumov in PRAVDA 21 Jul]* 14

China

Razumovskiy Receives NPC Delegation 14
CPC's Zhao Ziyang Cited on Reform Process *[PRAVDA 21 Jul]* 15
PRC Public Interest in USSR Events Increases 15

Northeast Asia

Further Reportage on Visit by Japan's Nakasone 16
Holds Talks With Gorbachev *[Tokyo KYODO]* 16
Expanded Cooperation Viewed 16
USSR-Japan Society Meets, Elects Chairman 17
DPRK Proposal for North-South Talks 17

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Nguyen Van Linh, Gorbachev Hold Talks 20 Jul *[Hanoi VNA]* 17
Comparison of Talks *[Hanoi]* 18
Comparison of Gorbachev-Nguyen Van Linh Meeting *[PRAVDA 21 Jul]* 18
Cambodia Talks Reportedly Planned With PRC *[Tokyo KYODO]* 19
Prospects for Talks on Cambodian Issue Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 15 Jul]* 19

Near East & South Asia

Perez de Cuellar-Mahallati Meeting Noted 20
Gulf Peace, 'Urgent Task' in Region Viewed *[Serbin in PRAVDA 21 Jul]* 20
Vorontsov Meets With Syrian President *[PRAVDA 21 Jul]* 21
Afghan Rebels Plan Capture of Qandahar *[PRAVDA 17 Jul]* 21
Pakistani 'Interference' in Afghan Affairs 22
Former MIA Returns, Meets With Journalists *[PRAVDA 21 Jul]* 22
Regiment's Withdrawal From Afghanistan Described *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Jul]* 23

Sub-Saharan Africa

Talks on Southern Africa Arouse 'Hope' *[IZVESTIYA 21 Jul]* 26

East Europe

44th Anniversary of Polish 'Rebirth' Celebrated 27
Antonov Attends Events *[PRAVDA 22 Jul]* 27
Leaders Congratulated *[PRAVDA 22 Jul]* 28
Supreme Soviet Presidium Honors Poland's Czyrek 28
Gorbachev Greets Polish Song Festival *[PRAVDA 21 Jul]* 28
Katushev, Bulgarian Minister Discuss Trade Ties 29
Zhivkov Opens BCP Central Committee Plenum *[PRAVDA 21 Jul]* 29
New Salaries Set for Hungarian Leaders *[Budapest MTI]* 29
Savu-Led RCP Delegation Visits Soviet Union *[PRAVDA 21 Jul]* 29
Briefs 30
Business Association With SFRY 30

West Europe

Demichev Meets With FRG Schoolchildren *[IZVESTIYA 21 Jul]* 30
FRG's Kohl Welcomes Improved East-West Ties 30
Italian CP Leader's Plenum Speech Reported *[PRAVDA 21 Jul]* 31

Latin America & Caribbean

Shevardnadze Greets Brasilia Science Exhibition *[IZVESTIYA 20 Jul]* 31
Nicaraguan Ambassador Speaks on Revolution Day 32
Interview With Ambassador 32
CPSU Delegation Departs for Ecuadoran Congress *[PRAVDA 20 Jul]* 34
CPSU Greets Ecuadoran Communist Party Congress *[PRAVDA 21 Jul]* 34

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Further on Events in Armenia, Azerbaijan 35
Stepanakert Remains Idle 35
Lost Production in NKAO *[Yerevan]* 35
NKAO TU Chief Comments *[TRUD 21 Jul]* 35
Yerevan Workers on Strike *[Yerevan]* 36
Strike To End 25 Jul *[Hamburg DPA]* 36
'Extremists' Arrested in Yerevan 36

Karabakh Committee Activities *[IZVESTIYA 22 Jul]* 36
Armenians Cited on Debate *[PRAVDA 22 Jul]* 39
Azerbaijani Workers Cited *[PRAVDA 22 Jul]* 40
Presidium Debate on Nagorno-Karabakh Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 21 Jul]* 41
Armenian Activists in Moscow Criticized *[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA 14 Jul]* 43
Paper Comments on Recent Strikes Around Country *[PRAVDA 18 Jul]* 46
Riga Rally Marks Restoration of Soviet Power *[PRAVDA 22 Jul]* 48
'Truth' About Latvian Revolution Related *[PRAVDA 20 Jul]* 49
Demonstrators Picket Estonian Supreme Court *[Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 8 Jul]* 51
Estonian Financial Autonomy Model Described 52
Zaykov Inspects Moscow Subway System 52
Zaykov, Baklanov Visit Machine-Building Works 52
Zaykov Examines New Airliner at Plant *[PRAVDA 21 Jul]* 53
Dolgikh, Gusev Attend Moscow Ceremony 53
Biryukova, Solovyev Speak on Consumer Goods *[LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA 15 Jul]* 53
Lukyanov Attends Constitution Conference 55
Speaks at Ceremony *[PRAVDA 15 Jul]* 55
RSFSR Minister on Improving Social Security *[PRAVDA 21 Jul]* 55
Council of Ministers Debates Taxation Issue *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 16 Jul]* 57
CPSU Expresses Thanks for Conference Greetings *[PRAVDA 21 Jul]* 58
Plans To Publish Conference Transcript Outlined *[IZVESTIYA 14 Jul]* 59
Editorial Views Conference Decision on Glasnost *[IZVESTIYA 14 Jul]* 59
Youth Daily Apologizes for Error in Interview *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 16 Jul]* 61
Trial of Dissident Grigoryants 'Adjourned' *[AFP]* 61
Playwright Restored to Writers Union 61
Orders for Radio Commercials Invited 61
Old Ritual Church Celebrates Christian Millenium 62
World Peace Council Honors Patriarch Pimen *[IZVESTIYA 4 Jun]* 62
Gas Cloud Escape at Chemical Fire in Moscow 63
Briefs 63
New Moscow Newspaper 63

Economic

Belov Notes Soviet Economy Being 'Put Right' 63
Foreign Trade Half-Year Figures 63
Council of Ministers Discusses Economic Issues *[PRAVDA 21 Jul]* 64
Academician Bogomolov Assesses Economic Reform *[IZVESTIYA 18 Jul]* 67
Economist Rumyantsev Comments on Reform *[Prague RUDE PRAVO 14 Jul]* 69
CPSU Secretary Views Manufacturing Equipment *[PRAVDA 15 Jul]* 70

Agricultural

1 Million Hectares of Grain Scorched in Saratov 70
RSFSR Feed Procurement 'Slower Than Last Year'
[Seleznev in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 20 Jul] 70
Agro-Industrial Complex Harvesting Tasks Viewed *[PRAVDA 20 Jul]* 71
'Progress' in Field Operations Reported 72
Agricultural Developments for 14-20 Jul 72

Scientific

Glavkosmos' Dunayev on Soviet Shuttle Launch 73
Cosmonaut on New Shuttle *[Vienna]* 74
'Mir' Cosmonauts Unload 'Progress-37' Craft 74
Flights of Two Phobos Probes Continue 75

U.S. 'Accusation' on Krasnoyarsk Radar Denied

LD2107115788 Moscow TASS in English 1133 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—TASS correspondent on diplomatic affairs reports:

The United States is again launching a campaign whose aim is to prove the unprovable: The Soviet Union allegedly violates the ABM Treaty. Yesterday this accusation was voiced at least twice. Marlin Fitzwater, White House press secretary, at a briefing in Santa Barbara (California) where President Reagan is now holiday-making and Phyllis Oakley, U.S. Department of State spokeswoman, at a regular briefing in Washington, alleged in unison that the constructon of a radar station in the area of Krasnoyarsk was a violation of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

The Soviet side has repeatedly stated that the radar station in the area of Krasnoyarsk was designed for tracking space objects and, therefore, cannot be considered in the context of the ABM Treaty. This was shown, for instance, to U.S. congressmen who visited the station early last September and familiarized themselves on the spot with its technical characteristics, equipment and the state of construction work. The visit was, incidently, organized at the initiative of the Soviet side. The Soviet side surely would not have invited there U.S. representatives if the project had been an antimissile defence facility.

Moreover, the USSR stopped all work at the Krasnoyarsk radar station last October to strengthen the atmosphere of trust and to stop all talk of the Soviet Union's "violations" of the ABM Treaty. This moratorium is in force up to this time.

The Soviet Union is for precise and strict observance of the ABM Treaty, regarding it as a necessary element for implementing a 50-per-cent cut in strategic offensive weapons. At the Geneva talks the Soviet delegation is engaged in active discussion of a possibility of concluding an appropriate agreement on this score, which would confirm obligations of the two sides concerning observance of the ABM Treaty at least for the next 9-10 years.

Soviet diplomatic quarters point out that under these conditions the USSR is ready even for a radical solution of the question on the Krasnoyarsk station raised by the American side. If an understanding is reached to observe the ABM Treaty as it was signed in 1972, the Soviet Union agrees to carry out dismantling of equipment at the Krasnoyarsk radar staton in such a way that it will be verifiable and will raise no doubts in the United States.

More on Soviet-U.S. Meeting of Retired Officers

Dobrynin Receives La Rocque

LD2107195088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1805 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jul (TASS)—On 20 July, Anatoliy Dobryin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received Rear Admiral (Rtd) Gene R. La Rocque, director of the Center for Defense Information, a U.S. nongovernment organization. He was taking part in the work of the second Soviet-U.S. meeting of retired generals and admirals, which has been taking place in Moscow in recent days.

There was a friendly exchange of opinions on matters of Soviet-U.S. relations, with the emphasis being placed on various aspects of disarmament. Gene R. La Rocque expressed satisfaction with the contacts that have been established between representatives of the armed forces of the USSR and the United States. He also gave a position appraisal of the meetings of retired generals and admirals that are held with the assistance of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, noting their contribution to the improvement of mutual understanding between the peoples of our countries.

Gene R. La Rocque presented a commemorative medal from the Center for Defense Information, to be conveyed to Mikhail Gorbachev in recognition of his great contribution to the relaxation of international tension, and the prevention of nuclear war.

Retired Officers Comment

LD2107213888 Moscow TASS in English 2115 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—A total of 748 years of service in the army was put in by 20 prominent military leaders who took part in the work of the second Soviet-American meeting of generals and admirals on matters of disarmament. A news conference held at the Soviet Peace Committee today was devoted to the meeting's results.

Director of the Center for Defense Information, retired Rear Admiral Gene La Rocque said that the experience of the participants in the meeting made it possible to discuss the matters profoundly and in a detailed way. Vast work has been done. The participants in the meeting abstracted themselves from their concrete arms of services and dwelt on broader subjects, such as saving the life on earth. The meeting was very interesting and informative and its participants look forward to the next one, to be held in the United States in April 1989, Gene La Rocque said.

Gene La Rocque noted that the military of the two countries should learn to cooperate in order to overcome the common enemy—the threat of nuclear war. If representatives of both sides can cooperate with each other (and this has been shown by a meeting between Marshal Akhromeyev and Admiral Crowe) the danger of nuclear war will decrease many times. No less important is also the fact that the burden of military expenditures will decrease too and the funds saved will be used to increase the prosperity of the two peoples.

"Various viewpoints were expressed during our debates. But we are unanimous in the one thing: It is important not to allow a reversal of the process of disarmament, to take new steps toward ending the threat of nuclear catastrophe forever," said retired Soviet Lieutenant General Mikhail Milshtein.

The participants in the conference discussed topical questions of prevention, restriction and reduction of armaments. A joint document adopted on the results of the work specifically contains the demand for a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing, for the need of substantial cuts in conventional troops and armaments. The need to increase openness in the military area was emphasized. In the opinion of Soviet and American participants in the meeting, the implementation of these proposals will promote the advance of the process of disarmament, the improvement of relations between the USSR and the USA, between NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries.

Further Reportage on U.S. Inspectors in USSR

Tour of Kazakhstan Plant

LD2107125388 Moscow TASS in English 1244 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Alma-Ata July 21 TASS—A group of American inspectors has visited a Soviet heavy engineering works in Petropavlovsk, Kazakhstan, to see how the Soviet-American INF Treaty is being implemented.

Within the time limit set by the treaty, the group toured the plant's shops and territory and visited the city.

The group's head Colonel Edward Cabaniss told TASS that the American inspectors had been given a chance of visiting all places they thought it was necessary to visit and of seeing everything they wanted to see. He said there was mutual understanding with the Soviet side.

According to Cabaniss, the group carried out its mission successfully.

Petropavlovsk produced a favourable impression on Colonel Cabaniss. He said the American inspectors had had all the necessary conditions not only for work but also for recreation and added that he would like to come to Petropavlovsk as a tourist.

The American colonel noted that perestroyka and glasnost had produced great changes in the Soviet Union since the time of his first visit there ten years ago.

Far East Missile Base Visited

LD2207121288 Moscow TASS in English 1144 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—U.S. inspectors have arrived at the Soviet missile operating base Novosysoyevka in the spurs of the Sikhote-Alin mountain range in the Far East, a Soviet newspaper reported today.

The daily STROITELNAYA GAZETA said the missiles stationed at the base are shorter-range OTR-22's (known as SS-12's in the West) which are among the first to be destroyed under the Soviet-American INF Treaty. The paper said the aim of the "baseline" inspection will be to specify the missiles' whereabouts, verify their class and number, and check other data.

Such inspections are to be completed by September 1, after which prime attention will be paid to verifying missile elimination procedures, the article explained.

It added that inspectors are allowed 24 hours per base for their checks.

At the Novosysoyevka base the U.S. inspectors were provided with copies of its layout, given a possibility to take a close look at facilities and equipment, including missile launch sites, and received exhaustive answers to their questions.

A hotel had been built at the base in time for the Americans' visit, STROITELNAYA GAZETA said. It will later be used for other monitor groups as well.

All in all, the paper noted, inspectors are to make spot checks on 133 facilities in the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia and 26 facilities in the United States and Western Europe.

The facilities include missile factories, weapons storages and missile bases.

Perfiliyev Holds News Conference 21 Jul

FRG's Genscher To Visit

LD2107134488 Moscow TASS in English 1311 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—Hans-Dietrich Genscher deputy federal chancellor and foreign minister of West Germany, will pay a working visit to this country on August 1-2 at the invitation of the Soviet Government, Vadim Perfiliyev, a spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry, announced here today.

Perfiliyev, who is deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, was speaking at a briefing for Soviet and foreign reporters.

He said the Soviet Union attaches much significance to developing political dialogue and all-round cooperation with the Federal Republic of Germany.

He expressed the hope that Genscher's coming visit and his talks here will make a further and tangible contribution to this process.

U.S. Democratic Platform

LD2107143388 Moscow TASS in English 1358 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman has described the platform adopted by the U.S. Democratic Party at its convention in Atlanta as holding positive planks in terms of prospects for a better Soviet-American relationship.

Speaking here at a briefing, spokesman Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, added that the policy of continued talks with the Soviet Union on key security issues, which has been urged by the Democrats, certainly meets the interests of the two countries and the whole of humanity.

He said that the Democratic platform in general indicates that the idea of improving Soviet-American relations and promoting constructive interaction between the two nations enjoys extensive backing in the party's ranks.

But the process of getting rid of prejudice and of an instinct to see a Soviet threat to U.S. interests everywhere in the world is going with much difficulty, he noted, adding that this apparently explains the calls for preserving positions of strength in U.S. foreign policy and the defeat of a motion at the convention for the U.S. to pledge no first use of nuclear weapons.

Nagorno-Karabakh 'Tense'

LD2107144488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1425 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jul (TASS)—There is a normal working rhythm on the whole in Yerevan today, and that is the main thing, reported Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

Replying to journalists' questions on the situation in Armenia at today's briefing, he said that enterprises are working and meetings and discussions on the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision on Nagorno-Karabakh are being conducted outside normal working hours.

Naturally, the situation, which became exacerbated over the last few days and weeks, continues to have an effect on events, Vadim Perfilyev noted. The results of the Presidium session are being seen as extremely important both for Armenia and Azerbaijan, including Nagorno-Karabakh, but assessments do differ.

As far as the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is concerned, mass meetings and gatherings have not been observed there, but work has not resumed either. The situation remains quite tense, the USSR Foreign Ministry representative said.

REUTER 'Distortion'

LD2107152188 Moscow TASS in English 1503 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman today expressed perplexity at a distorting report by the British news agency REUTER on a news conference in Moscow last Tuesday.

The meeting with the press that day was addressed by senior Soviet officials Petr Demichev, Aleksandr Vlasov and Aleksandr Sukharev.

The REUTER report quoted Interior Minister Vlasov as saying that a man was killed when demonstrators were being turned out of Zvartnotz Airport to restore order there on July 5 and that they had occupied it because a "security forces bus" had run over another demonstrator.

Perfilyev cited part of the transcript of the news conference to prove that nothing was said there about any demonstrator having been run over by any motor vehicle.

"One man really died in Zvartnotz Airport and Aleksandr Vlasov confirmed that. But it was an elderly man who died from cardiac insufficiency," the spokesman said.

"We know that professionalism and accuracy are valued in Britain. This makes it all the stranger to see a serious distortion of facts concerning an issue that has twice been touched upon at briefings held by the Information Directorate and exhaustively covered at the July 19 news conference.

"I believe that REUTER's Moscow bureau has done a bad service to the news agency which has traditionally been held in much respect here.

"We now have to ask ourselves: Can the news supplied by REUTER from other parts of the world be trusted?

"There is also another question we are asking ourselves: Can those holding news conferences and briefings at the Foreign Ministry Press Center count on their replies to questions from REUTER correspondents being accurately relayed to those reading Reuter stories?" Perfilyev said.

Talks on Southern Africa

LD2107153388 Moscow TASS in English 1523 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—"An important step forward has been taken in the talks on the political settlement in southern Africa," said deputy head of the Informational Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry Vadim Perfilyev. Speaking today at a briefing at the Foreign Ministry Press Centre, he commented on the results of a meeting of the delegations of experts of Angola, Cuba and the Republic of South Africa with the United States mediation that was held in New York on July 11-13 and at which the document named "The Principles of Peaceful Settlement in South West Africa" was agreed upon. The document was published on July 20.

"It is, apparently, risky and, possibly, unjustifiable to qualify the issuing of this document as a 'breakthrough' in the talks," Perfilyev said. "But it will hardly be reasonable to deny that both sides as a result of that round have opened an opportunity to embark on the working out of concrete practical steps toward a political settlement of the conflict. Documents of tens years ago related to the implementation of the 'the United Nations plan for Namibia' are now possibility urgently taken out of files in corresponding capitals".

It is of no small importance that the parties have recorded a number of fundamental principles of international law and of relations among states in the present epoch—such as respect for sovereignty, equality and independence of states, for their territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers, non- interference in internal affairs, Perfilyev said. Of much importance is also the fact that the principles confirm the right of peoples of the region to self-determination, independence and equality, the right of every state to peace, development and social progress. This is fully in keeping with the fundamental principles of the Soviet Union's approach to any regional conflicts.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman is of the opinion that the new round of quadripartite talks to be held in Geneva on August 2-4 opens an opportunity for the further progress of the talks.

'Urgent' UNSC Meeting on Iran-Iraq Noted

LD2207054888 Moscow TASS in English 0545 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 22 TASS—The U.N. Security Council convened urgent considerations Thursday night.

Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar informed its members about his talks with representatives of Iran and Iraq on issues related to implementation of Security Council Resolution 598 on ways to settle the Iran-Iraq conflict.

Petrovskiy Views UN Disarmament Session

PM2007112488 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 28, 10 Jul 88 p 6

[Interview with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy by Eduard Khamidulin: "Disarmament: U.S. Ambivalence"; date and place not given]

[Text] MN: What was the Soviet delegation's mission as this session? What did we want to achieve?

V.P.: The Soviet delegation was authorizied to facilitate a non-confrontational, informative dialogue on the entire range of disarmament issues. We wanted to get a clear idea of the international community's priorities and how much they coincide with our foreign policy priorities. We also were interested in whether the other participants in the world community would consider adding multilateral talks on disarmament to the bilateral ones. We wanted there to be virtually no "blank spots" and no "forbidden subjects" in disarmament. This was the intent behind our latest proposals.

MN: At what level in Moscow was the Soviet delegation authorized?

V.P.: Soviet participation at a session of the UN General Assembly is handled by the country's top political leadership. Mikhail Gorbachev stressed the importance of increasing the UN's role in settling international problems in one of his speeches at the fourth Soviet-US summit which featured bilateral relations.

MN: How was the preparatory work for the session done? Who took part in it?

V.P.: The Soviet delegation did a lot of preparation for the disarmament session. Delegation members included Deputy Defence Minister General of the Army Vitaliy Shabanov; Academician Vitaliy Goldanskiy, chairman of the Pugwash Committee of Soviet scientists; writer Grigoriy Baklanov, editor-in-chief of ZNAMYA; Vitaliy Zhurkin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The opinions, stands and ideas of all the interested organizations and departments were taken into account. Consultations were held with a number of countries with the aim of finding out their approaches to the session. The delegation proceeded from the idea that at the session it would be possible to find a generally acceptable balance of interests.

MN: How much of what you set out to achieve did you actually achieve?

V.P.: I think we basically accomplished what we wanted to. Most importantly, the dialogue was non-confrontational. While working on the final document, the Soviet delegation showed a maximum flexibility, a preparedness for compromise.

Secondly, the session convinced us that our foreign policy priorities coincide with the priorities of the world community: a 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive arms given fulfilment of the ABM Treaty in the form it was signed in 1972; a nuclear-test ban; the earliest conclusion of a convention banning chemical weapons; a reduction of conventional arms and armed forces in Europe; and the creation of reliable control mechanisms, including international ones.

Thirdly, the session provided an opportunity to ask the world community of new questions which fill in the "blank spots" in the disarmament process. We proposed studying the problem of reducing naval arms and limitation of naval activities. We initiated a discussion on ending foreign military presence by the year 2000 and of establishing a control over the activities of military bases. We also suggested setting up an international control organ to monitor the fulfillment of arms-limitation agreements and the resolution of conflict and crisis situations.

All the delegations, except for the USA, supported us on naval arms and on the international control organ. There wasn't the broad response on the question of military bases that we expected. Still I think it vital that the question has been posed and included on the agenda of disarmament talks.

MN: The session didn't adopt the final document. UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, and Undersecretary-General Yasushi Akashi said it was no use "dramatizing the situation". But the problem of overcoming differences remains and, as they say at the UN Secretariat, "the interests of separate countries are being placed above the interests of the international community in disarmament". Is that so?

V.P: I agree with the leadership of the UN Secretariat. There is no need to dramatize the situation. The session isn't the end but the beginning of the dialogue on the entire range of disarmament issues, without all the former ideological confrontations.

Secondly, the session was useful in that it produced a number of new ideas. India, for example, raised a very important question, that of banning the use of new technologies for military purposes. The representatives of the non-governmental organizations also had many interesting ideas. These organizations were also holding a people's assembly which ran parallel to the General Assembly. Thus the abundance of constructive ideas—capital—was generated at the session.

The session also revealed some conflicting interests. The USA, unfortunately, demonstrated that it places its national interests above the interests of the international community and in general did not behave as a participant in a democratic, civilized dialogue should.

Other states were also guilty of placing national interests above the international interest. But, as distinct from the USA no one closed the door on dialogue, no one refused to continue work on the final document. Even though the clock in the conference hall was stopped at 12 o'clock at night on June 26 many delegations were prepared to work round-the-clock to produce mutually acceptable accords. This proves that the international community has a strong feeling that we must act in the best interests of humanity, placing them above national interests.

MN: How will the ideas from the session influence disarmament talks in Geneva, Vienna and elsewhere?

V.P.: Favourably, I think. These talks are not held in a vacuum. They are part of a broad international political spectrum. And the UN General Assembly Special Session, attended by 159 states, showed what state this spectrum is. Delegates included 28 heads of state and government and some 70 ministers of foreign affairs. And this unique and very responsible international forum showed that disarmament is the crucial issue of world politics and that the world community, inspired by the unprecedented accord between the USSR and the USA on the elimination of two classes of nuclear arms, expects new, real and tangible results from the participants of the talks in progress. I think that this creates a favourable environment which supports the positions of those who are striving at the talks to reach an agreement and make it harder for the opponents of disarmament to manoeuvre diplomatically.

West's Changing Attitude to USSR Viewed

PM2107130188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[Yuriy Zhukov report: "Agonizing Reappraisal. The New Thinking and Western Stereotypes"]

[Text] Inertia is dreadful in politics, the economy, and in any sphere of activity. The force of inertia, which gives rise to adherence to outmoded stereotypes, and the inability, or often the unwillingness, to heed reality are especially dangerous in our time of rapid and drastic changes. Life often necessitates radical changes in political reference points and the elaboration of new doctrines. But the heavy pressure of inertia pins one to the past and hampers perception of what is new.

In this connection I happened to remember a remarkable episode in the fifties. Seeing that the policy of "rolling back communism" was not producing the results which people in Washington were counting on, U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles stated on 14 December 1953, when speaking at a Paris news conference, the need to carry out "agonizing reappraisal" of this policy.

However, the force of inertia built up by the cumbersome "cold war" locomotive was so great that although Dulles also reiterated his intention to begin this "agonizing reappraisal" 6 months later when speaking on 4 June 1954 at the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, this was simply not begun even then.

Justice requires me to add that the force of inertia, unfortunately, also took its toll on our policy, which was just as rigid and uncompromising as U.S. policy. I will never forget how the then Foreign Minister V.M. Molotov, calling upon PRAVDA's journalists to propagandize this rigid course, said to us in 1953 about his foreign policy partners: "They're wolves! How can you contemplate any accord with them?"

It took many years for the possibility of mutually overcoming this dangerous force of inertia in foreign policy to arise and for us to begin a creative quest for fundamentally new approaches to the development of international relations. How it all began is common knowledge—with the proclamation, at the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th party congress, of a return to Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence and to its enrichment in conformity with contemporary conditions.

But a great many more dogged efforts had to be expended on this difficult and often truly agonizing path in order for the "cold war" locomotive to begin to slow its ominous rush and for the first real results to be achieved in the struggle to reduce arms. This required long patient efforts at exhausting talks in Geneva, Vienna, and Stockholm, many meetings between ministers, four meetings between the USSR and U.S. leaders, bold unilateral steps on the part of the USSR, its numerous foreign policy initiatives, and, lastly, broad development of "people's diplomacy."

Looking back over past decades you see both the achievements and the lost opportunities. Who can tell, maybe, it would have been possible at the turn of the fifties and sixties, when people in Washington were beginning to talk for the first time about "agonizing reappraisal," if not to halt then at least to slow down the arms race. Recently the Paris weekly LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE recalled that president Dwight Eisenhower made a statement then "in response to Moscow's peace offensive following Stalin's death" to the effect that this waste of efforts and funds "presented a challenge to the U.S., Soviet, and any other political system, preventing them from securing an improvement in peoples' life."

In September 1959 as a member of the Soviet delegation, I had occasion to attend the talks between N.S. Khrushchev, then head of the Soviet Government, and D. Eisenhower in Camp David. As a result of this long and sometimes impassioned conversation, hopes arose of a turn for the better. An accord was secured to hold a meeting in Paris in 1960 between the heads of the governments of the USSR, the United States, Britain, and France, at which unresolved postwar problems were to be settled. An accord was also reached concerning the U.S. President's return visit to the USSR.

Nonetheless the force of political inertia was stronger than these hopes. On the eve of the Paris meeting, a U.S. "U-2" reconnaissance aircraft was despatched on a provocative mission into the USSR's airspace. It was downed. The U.S. President refused to make the apologies demanded by the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The efforts by France's President General de Gaulle and Britain's Prime Minister Macmillan to find a way out of the deadlock bore no fruit. Mutual intransigence triumphed and the summit meeting was frustrated.

After this, situations repeatedly cropped up where the leaders of the opposing political and social systems—in the face of grim reality, which imperiously demanded the cessation of the arms race and the normalization of international relations—were inclining toward agreement. But every time the needle on the political barometer was on the point of indicating "fair," it would once again dip back. The "agonizing reappraisal" to which—because of vital national interests—the opposing sides increasingly frequently turned their attention was again and again postponed.

Perhaps that is precisely why for so long people in the West had such a suspicious and, to be blunt, mistrustful and skeptical attitude toward Moscow's major far-reaching initiatives.

A distinct breakthrough attesting to a real weakening in the sinister force of political inertia, which for so long slowed down the normalization of international relations, appeared last December in Washington when M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan signed the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. This made itself felt once again in Moscow—as a result of the fourth Soviet-U.S. summit meeting. Lastly—and particularly—this breakthrough became obvious when our 19th party conference demonstrated, for the whole world to see, the determination of the party and the people to secure the democratization and humanization of international relations.

The conference clearly defined and approved the path to the long-awaited goal when, as the CPSU Central Committee general secretary said in his report, "ensuring states' security will increasingly move from the sphere of the correlation of military potentials into the sphere of political collaboration."

I have a bulky pile of speeches and statements before me from the leaders of virtually all the most important capitalist countries of the world, welcoming the political course proclaimed by our 19th party conference. I will not begin to quote them—the reader is already familiar with many of them. I will say one thing: They all illustrate that the West has finally begun that "agonizing reappraisal" which the late Dulles had been about to carry out shortly before his death.

Of course, social systems, classes, and people with their own convictions, opposing lifestyles, and even prejudices, which are so tenacious, are still what they were yesterday; and they will hardly change tomorrow either. But life itself spurs them on to reappraise the concepts of international relations which had resisted change for long decades.

Two former U.S. secretaries of state, Henry Kissinger and Cyrus Vance, who belong to diametrically opposed political camps, have recently written a joint article for the NEWSWEEK magazine entitled "Agenda for 1989."

"By the end of the century," they write, "several of the foundations, on which peace was built after World War II, will have greatly changed." And they go on to specify: As for the United States, it has long since lost its nuclear monopoly, and its relative share in the world economy by the year 2000 will total less than half of what it was 40 years ago. At the same time, the old argument about the "Soviet threat," by means of which it was possible to induce the U.S. allies to agree to Washington's "leading role," is increasingly losing its force.

And although both the authors of the article remain adherents of the preservation of the "leading role" of the United States throughout the world including by means of reliance on nuclear weapons, they nonetheless both advocate the establishment of new relations with socialist countries, placing—and I quote—"much greater emphasis on political dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union."

"On the whole," they declare, "we have come to the conclusion that there is a chance now to considerably improve Soviet-American relations. The question is how to avail ourselves of this chance. This calls for a specific American and Western political program."

What a lot of deliberations along these lines are currently being published in the West, evoked by the "agonizing reappraisal" of obsolete U.S. and NATO policy.

Of course, we would be making a mistake if we thought that this "agonizing reappraisal" in itself already guarantees far-reaching changes for the better in East-West relations. The force of inertia which has been pushing Western policy for decades down the well trodden path of the arms race accompanied by psychological warfare against the "Reds" continues to operate, albeit less effectively than before. We were eloquently reminded of this in recent weeks by the familiar voices which rang out in Washington and the NATO headquarters. I will cite just three examples.

"The cold war has not ended," Vice President Bush, for instance, stated in San Francisco, calling on people to get ready for "a protracted conflict" with the USSR. Soon afterward in an interview for THE WASHINGTON POST he added that "the United States ought to build up its nuclear arsenal."

General Edward Rowny, special assistant [as published] to the U.S. secretary of state, speaking at the University of California at Santa Cruz, resolutely opposed even the use of the term "peaceful coexistence," since, you see, "the Soviet Union as before is first, foremost, and above all a communist state."

On 11 July the U.S. weekly U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT declared meaningfully that "with a few exceptions, experts on the Soviet Union are displaying proper (?) restraint. Even representatives responsible for the conclusion of the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, such as Defense Secretary Carlucci and the President's National Security Adviser Powell, are recommending a wait-and-see stance, and they essentially echo the former...characterization of the Soviet Union as the 'evil empire'."

Despite everything, readers need not be disconcerted by all these reverberations of the old bellicose speeches. As time goes on, fewer and fewer people are prepared to lend credence to stories about the aggressiveness of the "Russian bear."

"The axis of international life is shifting from confrontation to cooperation, mutual understanding, and negotiation with a view to achieving specific results"—these

words of M.S. Gorbachev's delivered at the 19th party conference automatically come to mind when one reads reports about the beginning of the stationing of inspection groups to verify the destruction of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles; the development of businesslike contacts between the leaders of the Armed Forces of the United States and the USSR; the resumption of talks on 50-percent cuts in strategic missiles; the progress of the Geneva Disarmament Conference, where the question of the elimination of chemical weapons is being discussed; continuing preparations in Vienna for talks on the reduction of armaments and armed forces in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals; and much, much else.

The far-reaching proposals for a reduction of conventional arms, put forward by M.S. Gorbachev during his visit to Poland, and the constructive decisions adopted last Saturday by the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee are giving a new powerful impetus to the struggle for universal security.

Nonaligned Movement Discusses Cambodia
LD1607102288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] A 5-day meeting of representatives of the Nonaligned Movement starts in the Indian capitol today. It will hold preliminary talks on a settlement of the situation surrounding Cambodia. Journalist (Dmitriy Morozov) talks about it:

[Morozov] The conflict in Indochina has continued uninterrupted for 9 years now. The tripartite coalition based in Thailand, as could be seen throughout these years, has not given up hope of overthrowing the Cambodian Government by force of arms. The military base of the tripartite coalition is made up of the Khmer Rouge, the Pol Pot supporters, who ran the country until 1979. The former monarch, Prince Sihanouk, also enjoys great authority among the opposition.

At this moment we will not go into the upheavals in the relations within the opposition. They are far from friendly. The Khmer Rouge has repeatedly attacked Sihanouk's armed detachments. There is continuous discord among the leaders.

For us it is important to note that last Monday Sihanouk, the head of that so-called Cambodian Government in exile, resigned. This is also, incidentally, an indication of the fact that the struggle for power is being stepped up in the highest levels of the opposition. Moreover, it is at the present time that prospects for solving the Cambodian problem have been outlined. Cambodia's people's power has become stronger and its armed forces are now in a state to defend the country themselves. This is why the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers to their homeland has started. In order to convince neighboring Thailand that there is no threat to its security, a proposal was put forward that a zone of peace should be set up throughout the length of its frontier with Cambodia. All this has become possible thanks to the policy of national reconciliation which is now being pursued by the Cambodian Government.

It would appear that the time has come for responsible decisions to be made. The opposition could have understood that its attempts to try to gain power by military means are futile. Over the years the neighboring Asian and Pacific countries could have become convinced of the sincerity of Vietnam's intentions, in withdrawing its troops from Cambodia, to establish peace in the region. But great is the burden of distrust and prejudices.

Pol Pot's men are still receiving military aid. The ASEAN states still regard with mistrust the peaceful appeals of Vietnam and Cambodia. But the times demand cardinal changes in political thinking, a new approach to the solution of the Cambodian problem, based on trust.

The meeting of representatives of Vietnam, Zimbabwe, India, Indonesia, and Cuba that has started in Delhi, aimed at deepening mutual understanding among the countries in the region, will without doubt help to break the vicious circle of mistrust and establish a direct and clear-cut path of political negotiations. Unless this occurs, the establishment of peace and good-neighborliness in the region is impossible.

Dobrynin Receives World Economic Forum Official
LD1207213088 Moscow TASS in English 1306 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoliy Dobrynin today received Klaus Schwab, president of the World Economic Forum (Davos Forum), at the latter's request.

During the conversation Klaus Schwab stressed that the business community and other strata in the West were deeply impressed by the dynamism and resolve with which the economic and political reform was being carried out in the Soviet Union. He extended a formal invitation to Mikhail Gorbachev to take part in a regular meeting of the Davos Forum in 1989 and make a speech at its opening.

The conversation passed in a friendly and constructive atmosphere.

United States & Canada

Reportage on Democratic National Convention

Dukakis Adopted as Candidate

LD2107203688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 21 Jul 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Igor Kudrin]

[Excerpts] Michael Dukakis has been officially nominated as the U.S. Democratic Party candidate for the November presidential elections. In the vote at the national party convention in Atlanta he was supported by an overwhelming majority of delegates. The outcome of the voting was predetermined. The only serious rival that Dukakis had in the race for the Democratic presidential nomination was Jesse Jackson, the well-known Negro public figure, who received over 1,200 votes. In the interests of party unity, however, he proposed that the Dukakis nomination be regarded as unanimous. [passage omitted]

Today will evidently be Dukakis's day. Everyone is waiting for his convention speech. The press is singing his praises in advance. The press constantly reminds people that Dukakis comes from a poor Greek immigrant family. One of his grandfathers was (?a shepherd), and the other a fisherman. His father was totally illiterate. And now they are saying that thanks to U.S. democracy, Dukakis is ready to become President. His supporters paint a picture of intelligence, thrift, and competence, particularly the latter quality. He himself said recently: My friends, after 7 years of charm, the time for competence is at last arriving. This is an obvious reference to the present White House incumbent. It is characteristic that the political platform of the Democrats carries the slogan: restoration of competence and revival of hope. [passage omitted]

Despite the celebrations in Atlanta, despite the ovations, music, and laughter, the Democrats are still a long way from the White House. A difficult election campaign lies ahead for Dukakis and Bentsen, the vice presidential candidate, who face a lengthy tour of the country during which they will be attacking their Republican rivals. Bush was the object of fierce attacks by many speakers in Atlanta. His competence was questioned, and there were continual reminders that he had been involved in the major Iran-contra scandal. Edward Kennedy said of Bush: This is a vice president who sees nothing, hears nothing, and does nothing. What things Bush is not accused of! He is accused of having being born to a prosperous family and that there is royal blood in his veins. After keeping quiet for a long time, the Republican strategists finally could not contain themselves any longer and hit back at the speakers in Atlanta for their unrestrained statements. They told them to conduct an honest campaign and not to dwell too much on personalities. Bush himself spent the end of last week fishing somewhere in Wyoming, but yesterday he resumed campaigning, evidently realizing that his silence was inflaming his rivals even more and that their attacks were bringing them considerable dividends. The Republican Party has its own convention in August, when they will attempt to exact revenge for everything, including Atlanta.

Jackson Factor Marked

PM2107095188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Linnik dispatch: "Too Early To Draw Conclusions. At the U.S. Democratic Party Convention"]

[Text] Atlanta, 20 Jul—The latest day in the work of the Democratic Party Convention ended almost at midnight with an emotional speech in the Omni Coliseum hall from presidential contender J. Jackson. Movement and talking in the hall are a normal feature of this and other American conventions. So it is especially surprising that during Jackson's speech the hall literally held its breath. How did he captivate the audience to such an extent? Not only by rhetoric, not only through his oratorial brilliance, but with the passion with which he spoke of the struggle for civil rights in the United States, the human dignity of whites, blacks, and colored Americans, and the humble and unfortunate in today's America. He spoke of the 650,000 farmers who have been ruined in the United States in the last decade. He spoke of the young Americans who are deprived of the opportunity of continuing their education since the administration has cut appropriations to help students. He spoke of the new homeless people who have appeared in America in the last few years. He spoke of the scourge of narcotics addiction that has swamped the country. It is no exaggeration to say that this was a powerful speech. Yet, during the speech when I looked into the eyes of the people sitting next to me in the hall, filling all the aisles and giving Jackson frequent ovations, I saw that despite everything he said, many people here still firmly believe in the "American dream" of equal opportunities for everyone....

One of the day's most remarkable elements was the fact that the Soviet Union was often mentioned here by many people. "No changes are more serious than those taking place today in the USSR," former President J. Carter said. "The world is fascinated by the news from Moscow. Time and time again General Secretary Gorbachev takes steps which were unthinkable 10 years ago." Such tones were heard in many of the speeches made by the convention participants when foreign policy sections of the Democratic Party platform were under discussion. E. Muskie, former senator and former secretary of state, with whom I talked in the conference hall, said the same. He recalled with delight his recent trip to Moscow and his participation in a foreign policy seminar organized by PRAVDA. In Muskie's opinion, the seminar turned out to be "very interesting."

In general, no matter who I talked to here during this time, I immediately sensed a changed attitude toward our country. Where has Americans' caution, suspicion, and sometimes even manifest hostility of yesterday gone?

"Well," New York Senator D. Moynihan asked me mockingly, "what is more interesting: your conference or our convention?"

It is clear that previously we would not have been asked such questions even in jest because the answer was plain. I do not want to create the impression that everyone here unconditionally believed in the irreversibility of restructuring in our country and feels nothing but delight about it. No, the attitude expressed in our saying—wait and see—can also be strongly felt here.

But at any rate, the changes in the general tone of the opinions of our country are striking. "What will Dukakis' first steps in the sphere of Soviet-U.S. relations be if he is elected President?" I asked L. Aspin, chairman of the House of Representatives Armed Services Committee.

"It is difficult to tell now," he replied. "But I think that first it will be a question of reducing strategic arms and banning chemical weapons. I think that regional problems and human rights issues will also still be on the agenda."

It is understandable that the Democrats, now controlled by supporters of Dukakis, who has done his utmost to flirt with the conservative wing of his party, do not want to look like "dangerous radicals" in the arms control sphere. This was clearly shown by the debate held the day before at the suggestion of Jackson's supporters—to secure the inclusion in the election platform of a clause banning U.S. first use of nuclear weapons. The ratio of votes "for" and "against" was approximately 1:2. The predetermined outcome of the voting was interesting as it reflected the approximate alignment of forces at the convention between Jackson's and Dukakis' supporters.

Having clarified this, the black preacher's supporters dropped from the vote their proposal for granting the Palestinian people self-determination.

There were far fewer disputes on domestic economic and social sections of the election platform. There are weighty grounds for this. During the 8 years of the Reagan administration the income of 80 percent of Americans has dropped, Texan Agriculture Secretary J. Hightower said in his speech. In today's America the percentage of needy children is greater than in most developed countries of the world. The United States and South Africa are the only industrial countries which do not provide mothers with maternity leave and guarantee them employment. A total of 37 million Americans in the United States, including 12 million children, do not have public health insurance.

All this most seriously undermines Reagan's myth about the "economic prosperity" that he has created. Today there are frequent cases of Americans with two jobs being unable to provide their family with the income which they used to have before from one job. This was also mentioned at the convention. Thus the Democrats' hopes of victory in November do not lack, so to speak, material foundations. I was told this by Democratic Senator D. Prior of Arkansas. His sole proviso was: "Provided that Jesse Jackson's supporters back the Dukakis-Bentsen ticket in November."

This is as yet one of the unknown elements in the current presidential campaign. The mass media here are writing and talking a great deal about a "compromise" between Jackson and Dukakis. But this is what D. Fairbanks junior, a delegate from California who supports Jackson, remarked in a conversation with me: "We will follow attentively how Dukakis' entourage reacts to us in the time until November. Our support must not be taken for granted." These words reflect the sentiments of most of Jackson's supporters at the convention. Thus, it is too early to draw final conclusions.

Borovik Comments Cited

LD2207091788 Moscow TASS in English 0857 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Atlanta, Georgia, July 22 TASS—TASS special correspondent Andrey Chytov reports:

The 40th national convention of the U.S. Democratic Party has come to a close here.

The delegates have nominated Michael Dukakis, the governor of Massachusetts, and Senator Lloyd Bentsen (Texas) to be the presidential and vice-presidential candidates, endorsed the party's election platform at the decisive stage of struggle for the White House on the eve of the November presidential elections.

The opinion of local political analysts and delegates to the convention is that it was held in an atmosphere of the Democrats' unity which has been unprecedented for recent years. Experts point out that the Democratic Party has succeeded in achieving such cohesion of its supporters in many respects due to the U.S. electorate's strong discontent over the results of the eight-year stay in office of the incumbent Republican administration.

A Soviet delegation consisting of Genrikh Borovik, chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, officially attended the convention for the first time in the history of such forums at the invitation of the American Democratic Institute.

Sharing his impressions of the U.S. Democratic Party convention in an interview with the TASS correspondent, Genrikh Borovik pointed out: "On the one hand, we witnessed a traditional political show. On the other hand, it seems to me, a serious attitude towards major

issues, including the problems of Soviet-American relations, is awakening in people here. They often asked me about the 19th all-union party conference, and were interested in what aspects it was similar to and differed from the U.S. Democratic Party convention".

Carlucci To Visit USSR 'Beginning of August'
LD2207090088 Moscow TASS in English 0852 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci is to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union at the beginning of August, Colonel General Nikolay Chervov, head of the department of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR, told a TASS correspondent today.

The visit will become part of the general program for exchanges between the USSR and the USA.

Reagan 'Captive Nations Week' Proclamation Noted

Estonians 'Perplexed'
LD2007131988 Moscow TASS in English 1021 GMT 20 Jul 88

[Text] Tallinn July 20 TASS—The residents of Estonia have been perplexed by the proclamation of the U.S. President, which was distributed in connection with the "Captive Nations Week", announced by him. Many people here are indignant at the logic of the authors of the document which says about "subjugation, persecution and discrimination," allegedly existing in the Soviet Baltic republics.

Talking to a TASS correspondent, Minister of Internal Affairs of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Mark Tibar has said that fabrications made in the proclamation are turned down by the very fact of the recent political and economic reforms in the republic. "The law on nation-wide democratic discussion of the most important problems has been adopted in Estonia", the minister recalled. "A new law is being elaborated on elections to soviet government bodies, which will enable amateur, informal associations of citizens to participate in this process, along with state organizations, not later than next year. The question has been resolved of Estonia's transition to cost accounting principles in 1990, which means that it would acquire complete economic self-sufficiency. What subjugation one can speak about when the people themselves select their leaders and deal with political and economic matters?"

Maybe the authors of the proclamation, when speaking about "discrimination" of Estonians, implied the economic status of the republic? Answering the correspondent's question, Mark Tibar said: "I do not know what was implied. If it concerns economic aspects, I can remind that the incomes of the residents of our republic per capita of the population exceed the average level in the USSR. If one is to speak about spiritual freedom, it should be said that the Estonians are the most reading nation in the USSR—the republic issues 12 books per every resident over a year, and most of them in Estonian."

"Reagan's proclamation can be qualified only as interference into our internal affairs," said Mark Tibar. "Estonia is approaching the 48th anniversary of the restoration of Soviet power on the tide of the perestroyka-caused social activity. And the cause of regret are attempts from abroad to divert this activity from solution of the most important internal tasks."

Criticized by Lithuanian
LD2007085688 Moscow TASS in English 0634 GMT 20 Jul 88

[Text] Vilnius July 20—ELTA correspondent Zigmas Aleksandravichus writes:

"The people in our republic consider as insulting the latest declaration of U.S. President Ronald Reagan, announcing as of July 17, this year, the so-called Week of Enslaved Peoples, to which he ascribes the Soviet Baltic peoples," said Vanda Klikunene, vice president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic.

I would not like to give lessons of history to the President of the great country, she said, but seemingly one has to remind him the fact that the working people of Lithuania as far as in December 1918 themselves proclaimed Soviet power and chose on their own the path of socialist development. It was only with the help of foreign intervention that the bourgeoisie managed to temporarily seize power.

It was only within the Soviet Union that Lithuania, with is population not exceeding 4 million, has become a really sovereign and prosperous republic, Vanda Klikunene underlined. Its industrial production is now almost 80 times bigger than in 1940. Industrial exports to 90 countries also testify to the Lithuanian industry's prestige. Lithuania's exports now are machine tools, instruments, computer equipment, while farm products accounted for 95 percent of its exports before the Second World War. National culture is flourishing. Judge for yourself, says the vice president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR—the republic issued 600 million copies of books since 1940, and 500 million of them—in the Lithuanian language. There are substantial accomplishments in science—works of Lithuanian physicists, mathematicians, philologists won world renown. Medics carry out sophisticated operations, including heart transplantation.

"In his delcaration President Reagan mentions Lithuanian Victoras Petkus who allegedly 'has been languishing behind prison bars for his struggle for national rights'," said Klikunene. The list of "martyrs of conscience" seems to have been exhausted, if the compilers of the

declaration had to use the name of a criminal. One recalls another declaration, dated February 11, 1988, which calls for marking the proclamation of "independence" of borgeois Lithuania Niele Sadunaite, who compromised herself in the eyes of the Lithuanians, was called then "a genuine leader of the Lithuanian people". That 50-year old woman, who claimed the role of "the enlightener" of the Lithuanian people, attracted the attention of all overseas supporters above all by her extemism, hatred for all which is Soviet."

The American Prsident's declaration, the second one in a year, is designed, just as the first one, for those who do not know historical facts, said Klikunene. On February 16, 1918, Lithuania was under the heel of the Kaiser army. And bourgeoisie's proclamation of the "Act of Independence" was actually a political farce. Even in "the American encyclopaedia" it is said in this connection that the proclamation was purely nominal, since it envisaged German protectorate. And it brought Lithuania down to the status of a German domain.

It is the cause of regret that the U.S. President signs documents which do not promote consolidation of mutual understanding between nations and violate the generally-recognised principles of inter-state relations, Vanda Klikunene said in conclusion.

U.S. To Use Astronauts for Military Surveillance

PM2007163388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

[I. Deyev article under rubric "International Notes": "Astronauts, Action Stations!"]

[Text] This order will be transmitted more than once this fall via the space radio communications channels to the U.S. shuttle spacecraft (true, only as part of a training program). The USAF Space Command is planning to carry out a series of exercises for military astronauts aboard the shuttle. During these exercises it is planned to establish the effectiveness of using people for tactical and strategic reconnaissance from space, obtaining warning of the launch of ballistic missiles by the enemy, observing the movements of enemy naval forces, and implementing other combat tasks.

Many of the tests to be carried out on the shuttle, the U.S. journal AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY reports, will be coordinated with ground exercises of the various troop categories and with launchings of U.S. ballistic missiles.

Seven of the 11 experiments will be carried out by the Air Force, and 2 each by the Army and the Navy. During the program carried out by the Air Force, it is planned to establish whether an astronaut aboard the shuttle, using manual optical instruments, can detect mobile and stationary targets on earth, observe them continuously, and identify them. It is also planned to test a system of direct imaging from space, which will be used to control multispectral target lock-on and tracking instruments with the aid of optical devices. Moreover, it is planned to conduct an experiment in target acquisition from space using a low-power laser target designator installed aboard the shuttle.

An important place in the Air Force program is occupied by the experiment to detect enemy ballistic missile and SLBM launches using simple optical instruments. Another task for the project is to determine the time taken to warn of a launch using an astronaut's observations. Specialists from the USAF Space Command attach exceptional important to this. "The strategic aerospace defense program will be at a considerable advantage if this experiment confirms the expediency of using military astronauts to improve the reliability of ballistic missile launch warning signals," the department's report on this concept states.

During the exercises it is also planned to conduct research on a naval location system to fix the coordinates of surface objects to within 10 nautical miles within the framework of the development of a space-based sextant system. Retired Colonel John Fabian, a former astronaut, is in charge of this program. The naval location system will be supplemented by a spectrograph and other instruments which will make it possible to establish whether astronauts are able to distinguish ships from space and observe phenomena such as ocean memory [okeanskaya pamyat]—traces left on the surface of the water by submerged submarines.

In carrying out the Army's "Terra Scout" project, surveillance of military exercises and troop maneuvers by a simulated enemy will be conducted from space using optical instruments. The Army's "Terra Geode" project will make it possible to establish the extent to which battlefield surveillance from space will help in transferring large troop formations and hardware across rugged terrain.

The first series of space experiments has not yet begun, yet many Air Force, Navy, and Army experts are insisting on drawing up a new program for the utilization of military astronauts. In particular, a special Pentagon commission comprising representatives of the branches of the Armed Forces intends to examine plans for a second group of experiments, which are scheduled to be carried out in 1989.

One general conclusion can be drawn: The Pentagon is stopping at nothing in its race into space. Today it intends to rehearse the missions of battle surveillance and management from space, and tomorrow it plans to put strike weapons into space. This cannot fail to alarm the progressive public.

Kuznetsov on Nixon View of Gorbachev Policy

PM2007160588 Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 29, 15-21 Jul 88 (Signed to Press 14 Jul 88) pp 10, 11

["Our Commentary" by G. Kuznetsov appended to 3,000-word extract from Richard Nixon's book "1999: Victory Without War" reprinted from Paris LE FIGARO MAGAZINE: "In the Caves of Anticommunism"]

[Text] During the years when Richard Nixon was active on the boards of the U.S. political stage, he firmly acquired the nickname "Tricky Dick," which can be translated as "Dick the Cheat" [Dik-Obmanshchik]. The Watergate affair, which left him covered in dirt from head to toe, forced him to resign the Office of President. It seemed at the time as if Nixon had been consigned to political oblivion. Nevertheless, having "done his time," he has resurfaced (something which is obviously advantageous to the California arms kings with whom his entire political career has been linked) and has gradually taken the position of a Republican Party elder statesman and national oracle who regularly pours out his thoughts on questions of U.S. policy. It is hardly surprising that Nixon's book "1999: Victory Without War" has been quite widely advertised. The objective is obvious—to ensure that the author's views become known to as many people as possible. This imposition of "Tricky Dick's" ideas on the mass readership prompts us to bring a sample of his "work" to Soviet people's knowledge.

The extract from the book reprinted by LE FIGARO MAGAZINE is shocking primarily through the absurdities, or rather the gross distortions of reality which are totally divorced from real facts even though they are presented as such. For example, Nixon claims that ever since M.S. Gorbachev became general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee 3 years ago, "there have been no signs indicating even the slightest changes in the international goals pursued by the USSR." He reverts to this pseudo-premise time and again, declaring that Gorbachev apparently "remains loyal to the long-term objective—the objective of world domination," and that he, Nixon, "would not bet that these reforms will make Soviet foreign policy any 'softer.'" The former president is convinced that supposedly "there is nothing to indicate that the Soviet Union under Gorbachev has retreated even slightly from its aggressive policy," even though he cites nothing in support of this claim. And this is only natural: He does not and cannot have any facts to do so.

It would be naive to assume that Nixon does not read newspapers and consequently does not know anything about the restructuring of Soviet foreign policy (which, incidentally, was not aggressive even before that. The USSR, unlike the United States, has never aspired to world domination), that he has not heard about the new political thinking or the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which was concluded thanks to Moscow's flexibility, which has come into force, and according to which two classes of nuclear missiles are due to be eliminated; that he is unfamiliar with reports on the Soviet-U.S. experiment on monitoring the yield of nuclear tests, which also became possible thanks to the USSR's flexibility; or that he has no knowledge of the agreement which was signed on Afghanistan, under which our troops are being withdrawn from that country. It is obvious that he knows all this. He cannot but know it. But it is also perfectly obvious that, having put on the blinders, he is simply and plainly unwilling to look reality in the face, stubbornly describing white as black. His nihilism is dictated by a "cold war" attitude toward the Soviet Union and is based on the famous premise that if the conclusions do not fit the facts, then so much the worse for the facts.

Speaking of military aspects, Nixon is not averse to petty cheating like, for example, claiming that the new Soviet approach to military doctrines is based on "strategic sufficiency." In actual fact, we talk about "defensive sufficiency." The difference between these two terms is quite big, especially as the USSR is advocating the elimination of all nuclear arms, including strategic arms, and is offering the doctrine of nonoffensive defense. An unconvincing attempt is made to "catch out" the Soviet Union for failing to unilaterally cut the defense budget and "not slowing the development" of armed forces. First, however, we have already on many occasions resorted to unilateral actions, including the moratorium on nuclear tests, and the United States failed to follow our example. Second, is it likely that Nixon has not heard about the withdrawal of a sizable grouping of our forces from the Mongolian People's Republic and of 20,000 soldiers and thousands of tanks from the GDR, about the withdrawal of enhanced-range tactical missiles from the CSSR and the GDR before the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles came into force? As a matter of fact, under the treaty we are destroying more missiles than the United States.

But while "Tricky Dick" is resorting to petty cheating in military affairs, he acts like a big-time cardsharper when it comes to major political problems and especially when he unsuccessfully tries to present M.S. Gorbachev as a leader personifying a terrible threat and even threatening the "ruin" (?) of the United States and the West in general. In playing this hand, he even goes as far as to ascribe to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee statements which he has never made (look no further than the passage that M.S. Gorbachev allegedly "only lightly wags his finger" at Stalin but supposedly supports his policy and, criticizing "only the excesses," "has not broken with the terrors of the past"). It is no problem to catch "Dick the Cheat" out by citing genuine rather than fabricated quotations. Something else is important: M.S. Gorbachev's activity is a repudiation of Stalinism, and this was particularly vividly demonstrated during the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which made decisions on reform of the political system, deepening of restructuring in the economy,

democratization of all life, development of glasnost, and transition to a state based on the rule of law. And this is known all over the world.

Against the background of Nixon's super-slander, his pseudo-prophecies—like the claim that the Soviet people "will not be granted freedom" and so on—seem like pinpricks.

But Kozma Prutkov taught us: Look at the roots. Nixon does not need unworthy attacks simply to discredit the Soviet power and its leaders. His objective is to discredit the policy of normalization of relations between the United States and the USSR and, from his point of view, anything goes for this purpose.

Of course, when reading his work, it is impossible to overlook the few paragraphs in which the author gives due credit to the Soviet leader. But he makes no secret of his reasons for doing so: to prove that the Soviet Union is more dangerous for the West under its present leadership, and will be even more so once the reform is completed. This is why he uses yet another forgery, claiming that recently "the rhetoric aimed against the United States has acquired even darker overtones" and, instead of citing proof, which does not exist—since M.S. Gorbachev constantly pursues improved relations with the United States—he slips in pitiful references to reports in our press about the Gandhi and Palme assassinations and the origins of AIDS, even though these were no more than informative remarks based on reports by Western authors. But these are not all the falsifications. The list can be extended.

The new political thinking offered by M.S. Gorbachev for the restructuring of the entire system of international relations presupposes the renunciation of the enemy image. Richard Nixon obviously thinks in old stone-age terms when he wastes all his enthusiasm on presenting the Soviet Union as the worst possible enemy. He also drags Soviet-U.S. relations backwards so that his California pals can continue to earn superprofits from the arms race. People say that only the grave can straighten a hunchback. It seems that the same could be said of "Dick the Cheat."

Lexington Judgment Exposes U.S. 'Persecution'

LD2107152588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[Nikolay Kudryumov "Observer's Opinion" under the general heading: "'Secret' of the Prison in Lexington"]

[Text] Recently PRAVDA has published letters from U.S. citizens whose authors talked about attempts by official Washington to distract attention from instances of systematic human rights violations in the United States and to cover up the true state of affairs back home in every way possible. But, as the saying goes, the unpleasant truth will out sooner or later, no matter how hard you try to keep them in wraps. The scandalous evidence being published today is still further concrete confirmation of this.

How people in Washington once disowned the frank statement that everyone remembers made by Andrew Young, former U.S. permament representative to the United Nations, to the effect that there were dozens, indeed hundreds, of political prisoners languishing in U.S. penitentiaries! How the U.S. authorities tried to disclaim it and keep it quiet! But there's no escaping the facts. Now for the first time, the U.S. capital's Federal District Court has been forced to acknowledge this, in examining the action brought by the Union for the Defense of Civil Liberties and other organizations. Details have been uncovered of scandalous tyranny and harsh persecution for political motives. Irrefutable evidence has been cited of Americans' being convicted and thrown into strict-regime prisons solely for daring to raise a voice of protest against the administration's policy—in particular, against its foreign policy adventures. In his ruling on the action of women prisoners in Kentucky, the judge pointed out that they were subjected to treatment which "goes beyond the bounds of the elementary norms of human decency."

This is, alas, by no means the only case; it is no isolated exception but a widespread practice hiding behind the facade of splendid phrases about the "shining peak" of freedom and democracy in the United States—phrases which the powers that be use there over and over.

China

Razumovskiy Receives NPC Delegation

LD2107104388 Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT 20 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 20 TASS—A visiting delegation from the Commission on Legislation of the National People's Congress of China led by Commission Deputy Chairman Song Rufen was received today at the commissions for legislative proposals of the two houses of the Soviet parliament, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The meeting, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, discussed prospects for broadening contacts between the standing commissions of the supreme legislatures of the two countries.

Opinions were exchanged also on the issues of upgrading legal and legislative work in the USSR and the People's Republic of China.

Georgiy Razumovskiy, an alternate member of the Politburo and a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee who chairs the Legislative Proposals Commission of the parliament's Soviet of the Union, pointed with content to changes for the better under way in relations between the USSR and China.

The Soviet and Chinese parliamentarians were also satisfied that cooperation between the two countries in various fields has reached a high level.

It was pointed out that the Soviet Union and China have accumulated appreciable experience in reforming their economic, political and legal systems and that the goals and methods of these restructuring efforts are similar.

Both sides expressed the opinion that broadening parliament-to-parliament ties meets the interests of the Soviet Union and China. Exchanges between parliamentary delegations are becoming an important part of the machinery of bilateral relations and contacts and helping to extend cooperation and improve mutual understanding between the two countries.

The sides expressed themselves for stepping up these exchanges in the interests of the people of the Soviet Union and China.

CPC's Zhao Ziyang Cited on Reform Process

PM2107140188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Zhao Ziyang Interview"]

[Text] Beijing, 20 Jul—Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, has granted an interview to a correspondent of France's TF-1 television company, in which the Chinese leader spoke of certain important political and economic aspects of life in modern China. In the interview, an account of which was carried by XINHUA, Zhao Ziyang also devoted a great deal of attention to the restructuring presently being carried out in socialist countries. I evaluate positively the restructuring in the Soviet Union, he said, and I wish it success. It seems to me that it is taking place in many similar areas in our country, although its specific programs are different. The socialist countries can take experience into account during restructuring but not mechanically copy each other's practice. It will be useful to take mutual account of experience, the CPC leader pointed out.

Concerning the division of party and administrative functions now being implemented in the PRC, Zhao Ziyang said that it was difficult to implement this in the past. And this had an adverse effect on work. That is why this question has now been placed on the agenda. It can be resolved, although there have been no precedents. The party's leading role must find expression chiefly in political leadership and in the formulation of the most important political guidelines. The party must not supplant government organs in administrative work, Zhao Ziyang said.

Speaking about the Chinese intelligentsia, Zhao Ziyang pointed out that its political position has now improved. The CPC is devoting more attention to it than ever. The material position and working conditions of the intelligentsia are still quite modest. But its life will gradually improve as the economy develops, Zhao Ziyang pointed out.

The Chinese leader replied to the correspondent's question asking whether Western entrepreneurs are not actively investing capital in the PRC because of the fear of a new "cultural revolution" by declaring that similar events will not happen in the future and foreign investors may rest assured on this count. Concerning the economic development of the country's maritime regions, the CPC leader emphasized that the presence there of a cheap and at the same time skilled work force, convenient communications, higher technical standards, and better information about international market conditions provides favorable conditions for the development of an economy geared to the foreign market. The economic development of the maritime regions, Zhao Ziyang pointed out, will stimulate the economic development of the country's internal regions, not slow it down.

PRC Public Interest in USSR Events Increases

LD2107211688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 21 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In China there is increasing public interest in events taking place in our country. Our correspondent V. Kulikov reports from Beijing:

[Kulikov] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's book "Restructuring and the New Thinking" is well known in China. It has been issued here in hundreds of thousands of copies. At Beijing's People's University, where a discussion of this book was held, I was told that this work by our party leader, as well as the decisions of the recent party conference, raise a number of important questions which open up a new epoch in the history of our country—questions which are of great interest to China.

This interest concerns not only present-day events, but also our history and our country's past. The magazine (DUSHU) acquaints its readers with the life and work of Bukharin, noting that his good name as a citizen and communist has been restored.

Evidence of the great interest in the 19th party conference was given by the presence of a large group of Chinese journalists at a meeting in the Soviet Embassy devoted to that event. In the questions they asked, my Chinese colleagues seemed to relate the problems discussed in Moscow to the questions which are of concern to Chinese society, which has entered upon the path of cardinal reforms in economic and political life. Of course, the conditions in which restructuring is being implemented in the USSR and the reforms being implemented in China are different. It would be most unwise to copy each other's experience, Troyanovskiy, Soviet ambassador to China said in his replies to questions

from journalists. Nontheless, it is obvious that the problems facing China and our country are similar in many parameters. This creates an important sphere of mutual interest which will undoubtedly exert a positive influence on the further development of relations between our states. [video shows books and magazines in Chinese; clips from Chinese television newscasts about the USSR; Troyanovskiy's news conference]

Northeast Asia

Further Reportage on Visit by Japan's Nakasone

Holds Talks With Gorbachev

OW2207091088 Tokyo KYODO in English 0800 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 22 KYODO—Former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone began talks with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in the Kremlin on Friday, Japanese officials said.

Nakasone said he would urge Gorbachev to change the Soviet stance on a territorial issue with Japan, which is calling for the return of four Soviet-held islands off Hokkaido, the officials said.

Moscow denies the existence of any dispute on the matter.

This was Nakasone's first meeting with Gorbachev in three years and four months. Nakasone last met Gorbachev in March 1985 when he attended as prime minister of Japan the funeral of Gorbachev's predecessor Konstantin Chernenko.

In a speech at an economic research institute on Thursday, the former Japanese leader asked the Soviet Union to show sincerity toward the settlement of the dispute involving the islands off Hokkaido—Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan and the Habomais.

Nakasone, who stepped down as prime minister last November 6, is currently on a week-long visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of a Supreme Soviet parliamentary group. He will return to Tokyo on Tuesday.

Expanded Cooperation Viewed

LD2207075988 Moscow TASS in English 0658 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—TASS diplomatic correspondent reports: Yasuhiro Nakasone, former prime-minister of Japan and now a deputy of parliament from the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party, is staying in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the parliamentary group of the USSR.

The Soviet diplomatic community regards the visit as a step forward on the road to a broader Soviet-Japanese political dialogue, wider parliamentary contacts between the two countries and closer links with the Liberal-Democratic Party.

Objectively, the Soviet and the Japanese positions in the world and in the region call for an expanded cooperation on a healthy and realistic basis, unencumbered by the problems of the past. The USSR is doing all it can to achieve such cooperation. But, as an Oriental saying goes, you cannot handclap with one hand. The status of Soviet-Japanese relations depends as much on the USSR as it does Japan.

The Soviet Union assigns a priority significance to the Asian-Pacific componment of its foreign policy. The proof thereof is the large-scale programme of the USSR'S new, creative approaches to the problems of the Asia-Pacific Region (APR), laid out by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Vladivostok in July 1986. The programme was followed up in his answers to the questions of the Indonesian newspaper "MERDEKA" and of the Chinese journal "LIAOWANG".

At issue, above all, is the need to involve the APR in the general process of setting in place a comprehensive system of international security. This rasises in the first place the need to settle regional conflicts. A major step in this direction has already been made—the signing of the Geneva accords opened up a real possibility for a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. The withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops, sent into Afghanistan in 1979 at the request of the Afghan Government, has begun and is proceeding according to the agreed schedule. Movement towards ending the Kampuchean conflict appears to be acquiring momentum. This became especially evident following Vietnam's decision to withdraw a half of its troops from Kampuchea during this year.

The Soviet Union, rather than paying only lip service, is actually working to erect a barrier in the way of the proliferation and build-up of nuclear weapons in Asia and the Pacific. As is known, the USSR has included in the Soviet-American INF Treaty its missiles in Asia as well. It became the first nuclear power which signed and ratified the relevant protocols of the Treaty of Rarotonga, which marked the establishment of the first nuclear-free zone in the APR.

As Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said in his report to the 19th all-union party conference, "in the years of perestroyka we have improved or initiated relations with a large number of states, neighbouring and very distant. And we have worsened relations with none." This stateement is fully applicable to the Asia-Pacific Region. The Soviet Union has envigorated the political dialogue with practically all

APR countries at all levels, including the highest level, and our relations with the region's countries have become more dynamic and meaningful.

It goes without saying that much has yet to be done, and guarantees of the irreversibility of the positive processes which have gotten under way are still lacking. So what lies ahead is persistent, painstaking and creative work of a drastic improvement of the situation in the region, which would accomodate the interests and views of all the parties concerned.

USSR-Japan Society Meets, Elects Chairman

LD2107205088 Moscow TASS in English 1846 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—Soviet Merchant Marine Fleet Minister Yuriy Volmer was elected today chairman of the Central Board of the USSR-Japan Society at its sixth all-union report and election conference here.

Speakers at the conference stressed that the new political thinking gave free scope to developing dialogue of the Soviet public with all political forces in Japan. New methods are needed to conduct this dialogue. Restructuring, speakers pointed out, demands that the society displays more initiative and creativity, promotes live man-to-man contacts between Japanese and Soviet people. Providing the venue for discussions between citizens of the two countries on any subject without preliminary orientation or political "supertask" is the most fruitful way of bringing the public of the two countries closer together. Speakers urged to seek out new forces capable of extending Soviet-Japanese relations, primarily to involve more actively young people in the society. Another way is using in full the capabilities for extendinig cooperation with Japanese partner organisations.

Representatives of Japanese friendly organisations told the conference that the atmosphere of glasnost and democratisation, which is being asserted in all spheres of life of the Soviet country, helps develop dialogue of the public of Japan and the USSR.

On the same day leaders of the friendly organisations of Japan were received at the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship With the People of Foreign Countries. An exchange of views was held on ways of further strengthening ties between the public of the two countries.

DPRK Proposal for North-South Talks

LD2107162688 Moscow TASS in English 1543 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Pyongyang July 21 TASS —The proposal to have an interparliamentary meeting between the North and South of Korea with a view of improving the situation in the island has been made today by the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to South Korea's parliament.

A letter to the National Assembly of South Korea, which was handed over today at the military-demarcation line, underlines that such a meeting will pave the way to multilateral contacts and dialogue between representatives of political parties, groups and various strata of the population of the North and the South, will open up prospects for resumption of interrupted economic negotiations, contacts through Red Cross organisations. A joint declaration on non-aggression is planned to be discussed at the interparliamentary meeting, its first round, as suggested by the DPRK, is to be held in Pyongyang.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Nguyen Van Linh, Gorbachev Hold Talks 20 Jul

BK2107073288 Hanoi VNA in English 0722 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Hanoi VNA July 21—Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV], now on a vacation trip to the Soviet Union, met with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the Kremlin yesterday. Speaking on this occasion, Nguyen Van Linh said the conference has exerted a great political impact on Vietnam and elsewhere in the world.

"Although the two countries have different situations, the Vietnamese Communists are trying to apply creatively what has so far been obtained as results, in both theory and practice, of the restructuring process in the Soviet Union in the implementation of the resolutions of the 6th CPV Congress in order to overcome difficulties and improve all aspects of social life in the country," Nguyen Van Linh said.

On their bilateral relations, the two sides agreed that more should be done to better utilise the considerable potentials of the economic cooperation between the two countries and to put an end to all bureaucratic delays in various ministries and departments regarding this effort. They deemed it necessary to fully broaden direct contacts between enterprises and other economic organizations of the two countries and to set concrete state regulations for its realisation.

On urgent international issues, the two leaders showed special interest in the positive development of the situation in Kampuchea resulting from the PRK Government's active implementation of its policy for national reconciliation.

Nguyen Van Linh stressed that this year the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is withdrawing half of its remaining volunteer troops and their command from Kampuchea, that the rest will be withdrawn by the end of 1989 or early 1990 at the latest, and that the schedule for the troop pullout will be updated if an early solution is achieved. [Hanoi VNA in English at 0716 GMT on 22 July carries a 500-word report

on the 20 July meeting between Nguyen Van Linh and Mikhail Gorbachev which renders the preceding sentence as follows: "Nguyen Van Linh stressed that this year the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is withdrawing half of its remaining volunteer troops and their command from Kampuchea."]

Mikhail Gorbachev welcomed Vietnam's goodwill and expressed his hope that it would be favourably responded to by all those who sincerely want to end the conflict.

The two sides pledged they would strive to create favourable international conditions for the settlement of the Kampuchea issue. They held that the People's Republic of China could considerably contribute to the resolution of this question.

Nguyen Van Linh said Vietnam is ready to negotiate with China to settle all differences on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

The two leaders stressed the important significance of the projected "informal meeting" in Jakarta and expressed their hope that this meeting would strongly accelerate the search for a solution to the Kampuchea issue, thus contributing to promoting the mutual understanding between the Indochinese and ASEAN countries and improving the political atmosphere in Southeast Asia.

The talks took place in a warm and cordial atmostphere.

Also present on the occasion were Vadim Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Nguyen Manh Cam, member of the CPV Central Committee, Vietnamese ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Comparison of Talks

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese at 1100 GMT on 21 July carries a 4-minute report on CPV General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh's 20 July meeting with his Soviet counterpart, Mikhail Gorbachev, at the Kremlin. This report has been compared with the Hanoi VNA in English version, published as the preceding item. The reports are identical except for the following:

Paragraph two, first sentence, the Hanoi Radio version reads: "... of the CPSU. By effecting democratization within the party and in society and basically restructuring the political system, broad sections of the working masses will be allowed to participate in management and carry out self-management, thus giving them the actual capacity for protecting their own interests in production through elective organs at laboring collectives, as well as in territorial divisions. This is the very key to success in economic reforms. The broad support given by the Soviet people to the reform policies already set forth is a firm guarantee against reversal for the restructuring process. The Soviet Union will strive to develop to the maximum the potentials of socialism. This is a difficult and very complicated undertaking, but the conference clearly asserted that the path currently taken by the Soviet Union is correct.

"Comrade Nguyen Van Linh stressed: The 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU has created a tremendous political impact in Vietnam and throughout the world. Although the two...." (adding passage)

Paragraph three, last sentence, the Hanoi Radio version reads: "...in the country.

"Issues concerning Vietnamese-Soviet relations held an important position in the talks between the two general secretaries. The two sides...." (changing wording)

Paragraph six, only sentence, the Hanoi Radio version reads: "...command from Cambodia.

"Mikhail Gorbachev welcomed...." (deleting sentence)

Comparison of Gorbachev-Nguyen Van Linh Meeting

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 21 July carries in its Second Edition on page 1 a TASS report on the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Nguyen Van Linh. The PRAVDA report, entitled "Friendly Meeting," has been compared with the Moscow TASS International Service in Russian version published in the 21 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 18, under the headline "Gorbachev, Nguyen Van Linh 'Exchange of Views'", revealing the following variations:

Column one, first paragraph, first sentence begins in PRAVDA: "On 20 July M.S. Gorbachev met in the Kremlin with Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee, who is vacationing..." (deleting dateline, providing PRAVDA opening)

Column one, fourth paragraph, last sentence reads in PRAVDA: "...ministries and departments, which still maintain bureaucratic barriers..." (changing "will" to "still")

Column two, second paragraph, third sentence reads in PRAVDA: "...of Vietnamese volunteers and its command in Kampuchea within the current year; the remaining units will be completely withdrawn by the end of 1989 or the beginning of 1990 and, if the Kampuchean question is settled, they will be withdrawn even earlier. Mikhail Gorbachev welcomed..." (rewording passage)

Column two, third paragraph, first sentence reads in PRAVDA: "...to facilitate the creation of an international situation favorable to settling the Kampuchean problem. The PRC could..." (rewording passage)

Column two, third paragraph, third sentence reads in PRAVDA: "...Nguyen Van Linh confirmed that Vietnam is ready to conduct talks with China to resolve existing disagreements on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

"The Soviet and..." (rewording passage)

Column two, fourth paragraph, first sentence reads in PRAVDA: "...in preparation in Jakarta of the four..." (changing "Indonesia" to "Jakarta")

Column two, fourth paragraph, final sentence, PRAVDA incorporates as same point Moscow Domestic addendum on participants supplied in FBIS editorial notation.

Cambodia Talks Reportedly Planned With PRC

OW2207081688 Tokyo KYODO in English
0751 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Washington, July 21 KYODO—China and the Soviet Union have agreed to hold their vice foreign ministerial talks on the Kampuchean problem, U.S. Government officials said Thursday.

The officials said the Sino-Soviet talks will be held probably in Beijing in August after the conclusion of unofficial talks, which are slated to open in Bogor south of Jakarta Monday to resolve the Kampuchean problems.

This marks the first time that Sino-Soviet talks will be conducted specifically on the Kampuchean problem.

The officials indicated the talks may pave the way to summit talks between China and the Soviet Union aimed at normalizing their relations.

The Kampuchean problem is a major obstacle still to be resolved for the normalization of bilateral relations between China and the Soviet Union.

Prospects for Talks on Cambodian Issue Viewed

PM2107081188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[IZVESTIYA own correspondent B. Vinogradov "Reportage From Cambodia": "At the Border Crossing"]

[Excerpts] Phnom Penh—[Passage omitted] ...It was the end of the working day in Phnom Penh. [passage omitted]

I went to see my colleagues to find out the news. Khieu Kanyarit, chief editor of KAMPUCHEA newspaper, said that the city is agog with such events as the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces; the upcoming meeting between Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers and PRK foreign minister, and leaders of the three opposition Khmer groupings in Bogor, a small town near Jakarta; and the further steps by the PRK Government within the framework of the proclaimed national reconciliation policy. The newspapers focus mainly on these topics. [passage omitted]

As is well known, by agreement between the PRK and SRV Governments, the Vietnamese command of the volunteer forces in Cambodia together with the staff services have all been recalled home. The remaining units will be placed under the Cambodian side's command and will finally be withdrawn by 1990. The PRK's proposal for the creation of a peace zone along the Cambodian-Thai border is also being implemented, and consequently the Vietnamese subunits are moving their bases a distance of 30 km into Cambodian territory.

"There are two key questions in the Cambodian problem," Hun Sen noted at a press conference in Phnom Penh. "These are the presence of Vietnamese forces in the PRK and the Pol Pot problem. As for the withdrawal, regardless of whether a political settlement is reached or not, the Vietnamese forces will leave Cambodia in 1990. This may happen earlier under certain conditions. So, thanks to efforts made by Vietnam and the PRK, this problem can be considered solved. The question of Pol Pot remains open. Our people will never agree to a scenario whereby the return of this butcher to Cambodia becomes possible."

After the press conference, the journalists who had assembled in the hall of the "Chadomuk" Palace spent a long time discussing prospects for the further development of events. The most diverse forecasts were made on the question of the meeting in Bogor scheduled for 25 July. It has already been called the "cocktail meeting," obviously in view of the fact that the conversation there may take the most unforeseen turn. Indeed, although opposition representatives in the shape of Prince Sihanouk, Son Sann, prime minister of the so-called "Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea," and Khieu Samphan, one of the leaders of the Khmer Rouge groupings, agreed to come to Bogor, they do not have a constructive program.

The serious political contradictions among them preclude talk of any "unity" among them. According to latest reports, Sihanouk has again "resigned" from the post of "president of Democratic Kampuchea," and it is still not known how this will affect the planned meeting. Nonetheless, an attempt must be made to find the common interests of all four sides for the sake of national reconciliation and an end to the war. It is proposed that Vietnam, Laos, Indonesia, and some other ASEAN countries will join in the meeting's second stage. We were all agreed that Bogor is a chance and it must be taken, and we wished success to those who will hold talks there.

At the same time the position adopted by the foreign ministers of the ASEAN member countries at their conference in Bangkok, where they made an attempt to

turn the Bogor meeting merely into talks between Vietnam and the Cambodian sides is regrettable. Recently the SRV and the PRK again resolutely protested this approach.

My interlocutors also recognized that Cambodia is on the threshold of important events in its history. The country, reborn after the brutal Pol Pot era, is standing increasingly firmly on its own feet.

Near East & South Asia

Perez de Cuellar-Mahallati Meeting Noted

LD2207060388 Moscow TASS in English 0551 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 22 TASS—U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar met Thursday with Iranian acting Ambassador Mohammad Ja'far Mahallati [title as received].

They discussed issues related to implementation of Security Council Resolution 598 on ways to settle the Iran-Iraq conflict.

Perez de Cuellar agreed with the opinion voiced during the meeting that the resolution did not bind the two sides to enter into direct talks, Mahallati later told reporters.

He said that the resolution empowered the U.N. secretary general to conduct negotiations with Iran and Iraq.

Mahallati told Perez de Cuellar that Iran was ready to send high-ranking representatives for talks with him whenever he deemed it necessary.

The Iranian acting ambassador said he had a meeting with the Security Council's president Thursday.

Gulf Peace, 'Urgent Task' in Region Viewed

PM2107120788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[Aleksandr Serbin "Viewpoint": "Ray of Sunlight Among Storm Clouds"]

[Text] A ray of sunlight has appeared among the storm clouds of war which have been obscuring the Persian Gulf region for almost 8 years. Iran's political leadership has announced its agreement with UN Security Council Resolution 598, adopted 1 year ago.

This resolution, which outlines the main ways to end the Iran-Iraq war, requires the belligerents to cease all hostilities and withdraw their troops to the internationally recognized borders. It also provides for the swift release and repatriation of prisoners. The settlement of the conflict, the document points out, must be all-embracing, just, honorable, and lasting. Iraq acknowledged this resolution soon after it was adopted. Now Iran has expressed the wish for all its provisions to be implemented as soon as possible.

All this inspires hope that peace will be restored to the shores of the Persian Gulf. The intensifying war between Iran and Iraq was increasingly seeming a senseless confrontation, a waste of the two neighboring peoples' material and spiritual forces, and a conflagration which was threatening to spread and to exacerbate the situation in many spheres of international relations. And that is, in fact, what happened.

Such dramatic manifestations of the Iran-Iraq conflict as the "tanker war," the "war of the cities," the bloody offensive campaigns in which losses were disregarded, and the use of mass destruction weapons—all this caused tremendous casualties, including among the peaceful population. It is believed that the number of casualties on both sides is already far in excess of 1 million. Many tens of billions of dollars have been spent on destruction, and it will take still more to rebuild what has been destroyed.

The Iran-Iraq conflict—and the Soviet Union always and repeatedly warned of this—has made the Persian Gulf region a dangerous source of international tension. On the pretext of protecting freedom of shipping the United States has concentrated large naval forces there, which in itself increased the explosive nature of the situation. The recent "Persian Gulf incident"—the U.S. Navy's downing by missile of an Iranian civil aircraft—was a tragic reminder to everyone of the danger of playing with fire in an already inflamed atmosphere of conflict.

I will remind you that Resolution 598 was adopted unanimously in the Security Council. This means that even then, 1 year ago, it was clear to many people that it was time to extinguish the flames in the Persian Gulf. Today this realization has become almost universal. Approval of the Iranian move is being expressed in various capitals, including the capitals of those states involved in the conflict in one way or another. In various places, however, this approval has its own "nuances," so to speak.

The United States has welcomed Iran's subscribing to Resolution 598. But at the same time it is in no hurry to announce its own efforts to reduce tension in the region. State Department spokeswoman P. Oakley, for example, proclaimed the following: "We certainly intend to remain a strong player in the Gulf. Our policy has not changed." And Secretary of State G. Shultz declared that the United States has no plans to reduce the number of its warships in the Persian Gulf and on the approaches to

it in the immediate future. The reaction was similar in London, where it is reported that the British Government also still has no intention of reviewing its warships' operations in Gulf waters.

A statement by Israeli Foreign Minister S. Peres struck a totally dissonant note with the hopes for peace in the region. It emerges from what he says that a cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq conflict poses...a threat to Israel. He fears that the balance of power in the Near East region will change as a result of the coming of peace. How, S. Peres asks himself the strange question, will the military might of Iraq and Iran be utilized under these circumstances? The opinion of Israeli military experts is a curious one in this connection: They believe that the Iran-Iraq war has "eased pressure" in the sphere of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Continuing the logic of these arguments, it may be said that Israel found it easier to pursue its policy of aggression to the thunder of fighting on the Iran-Iraq fronts. Now it is concerned at the narrowing of "opportunities" to continue it.

Meanwhile, it is clear that in the event of a settlement of the conflict in the Persian Gulf a settlement of the situation in the Near East will become the most urgent task in that part of the world. There is, of course, no place left for Tel Aviv's aggressive plans and actions within the framework of the restoration of peace there.

Important processes are now taking place in the world, marked by a realization of the need to resolve acute questions of international politics by political methods. The Soviet Union made a considerable effort to achieve a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, and this yielded a result in the form of the Geneva agreements. A considerable amount was also done by Soviet foreign policy to transfer the resolution of the Iran-Iraq conflict to the path of peaceful political negotiation. These efforts seem not to have been wasted.

The possibility of a peaceful solution to the protracted conflict has emerged. It is important now for restraint, reason, and political responsibility to become strong factors in a settlement.

Vorontsov Meets With Syrian President

PM2107143188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Damascus, 20 Jul—On 19 July Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, was in Damascus. He was received by Syrian President H. al-Asad.

In an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding they discussed a broad range of topical issues concerning the situation in the Near and Middle East and ways to further deepen Soviet-Syrian collaboration in international affairs.

The Soviet representative talked about the main results of the recently concluded 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. H. al-Asad displayed a lively interest in the extensive program of transformations worked out at the conference and wished the CPSU, its leadership, and all Soviet people success in realizing the decisions made.

Yu.M. Vorontsov confirmed the Soviet intention to actively contribute to the search for a just settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict based on a balance of interests among all sides. The participants in the conversation spoke in favor of the need to increase efforts and practical steps toward convening an international conference on the Near East and noted the fundamental significance of the pan-Arab platform confirmed at the Algiers summit conference.

The Soviet Union, Yu.M. Vorontsov said, supports stronger Arab solidarity on a constructive basis and is in favor of collaboration between Syria and the PLO, which are objectively strategic allies in the struggle for a Near East settlement. A resumption of Syrian-Palestinian dialogue would be helped by the normalization of the situation surrounding the Palestinian camps in Lebanon and an end to the inter-Palestinian conflicts, from which only the enemies of the Arabs gain and which undermine the potential of the popular uprising in the occupied territories.

Expressing their concern over the prolonged war between Iran and Iraq, the sides spoke in favor of the earliest possible move to peaceful means of settling the disputes on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 598, with which both sides involved in the conflict now agree.

During the conversation the sides voiced their mutual satisfaction with the state of friendly relations between the USSR and Syria and expressed the desire to continue to deepen multi-faceted Soviet-Syrian cooperation.

Yu.M. Vorontsov had a meeting with Syrian Foreign Minister F. al-Shar' the same day.

Afghan Rebels Plan Capture of Qandahar

PM2007154388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[Special correspondent B. Kotov dispatch: "To Repulse the Insurgents"]

[Text] Kabul, 16 Jul—According to news reports arriving here, Afghan opposition leaders G. Hikmatyar, B. Rabbani, A.R. Sayyaf, and Y. Khalis have informed Pakistan's President Ziaul Haq that they have drawn up a strategic plan to blockade and capture the city of Qandahar after the withdrawal of units of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from its vicinity.

The intention is to turn Qandahar into the seat of the so-called "transitional" Afghan government created by the "Alliance of Seven" in Peshawar.

In conditions of an exacerbated situation in the country, the Republic of Afghanistan Armed Forces are stepping up their actions to repulse the insurgent forces.

A recently held PDPA Central Committee plenum set the party the task of strengthening the Armed Forces and stepping up efforts to defend the Republic. The press reports that about 1,400 PDPA members have volunteered to join the ranks of the Armed Forces in Kabul alone in the short time since the plenum. Dozens of industrial enterprises in the capital, city transport administrations, and many state institutions and education establishments have formed paramilitary units consisting of party members to protect these enterprises and institutions from possible armed subversion.

Pakistani 'Interference' in Afghan Affairs

LD2107144188 Moscow TASS in English 1319 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 21 TASS—According to incoming information, the Pakistani authorities continue active transfer of weapons and ammunition to Afghan opposition forces. In the past few days alone they handed over in Chaman area (Pakistan) 60 truckloads of various weapons to the groups Islamic Party of Afghanistan (IPA), Islamic Society of Afghanistan (ISA) and Islamic Alliance for Liberation of Afghanistan (IALA). These weapons are being shipped to Afghanistan. For the purpose of ensuring security of caravans, the IPA placed a part of its groups along the Terimangal [as received] route (Pakistan), in the Rajan gorge. A spurt in the delivery of weapons and ammunition is registered to northern Afghan provinces, for instance to Herat via Qandahar Province. Launchers for rocket projectiles and several antiaircraft Stinger missiles were brought to Adraskan District.

All in all, some 600 extremists arrived in Alishang District, Laghman Province, and Gardeyz area, Paktia Province.

Facts of smuggling Pakistani servicemen into Afghanistan as members of armed opposition groups are a graphic confirmation of Pakistan's interference in the affairs of sovereign Afghanistan. Early in July 11 Pakistani military were in Hakrez [as received] District, Qandahar Province, where an IPA unit is stationed. They exercise control over storage of ammunition and in some cases give personal instructions on carrying out some operations. A similar group of Pakistani servicemen is also in the village of Horsau [as received] in Arghandab District, Qandahar Province, where the headquarters of another IPA unit, as well as munitions depots are located. The third group of Pakistani servicemen exercises control over munitions depots in the area of Sargar [as received] Zabol Province. There is information that several American and Arab advisers stay there.

Early in July 200 men from the Islamic Alliance for Liberation of Afghanistan arrived in Shakar Darreh District, Kabul Province. The group includes six Pakistani military headed by Major Jahanzeb.

According to some data, new foreign advisers infiltrate themselves into Qandahar Province from Pakistan. For instance, five French advisers arrived there on July 6, and earlier (on July 2) 25 Arab advisers accompanied by 200 armed terrorists came to the province. One of their tasks is to disarm a group which signed a protocol with the government to stop the armed struggle.

Several foreign military advisers arrived in Qalat District, Zabol Province, from Pakistan to render assistance to opposition forces in conducting shelling and attacking sentry posts, as well as for control over their military training. In mid-July eight advisers, including Americans, the French and Egyptians, together with A. Sayyaf, IALA leader, headed for Qandahar Province. They were accompanied by a group of cameramen. Opposition forces plan to attack the Qandahar airdrome and administrative centres in the province.

Former MIA Returns, Meets With Journalists

PM2107100788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 88 Second Edition p 6

[V. Izgarshev report: "The Difficult Way Home. Back Home After 4 Years of Captivity and Almost 2 Years in Emigration"]

[Text] Yesterday was an ordinary, run-of-the-mill, working day, but for two women in Yekaterinovka village in Ulyanovsk Oblast's Inzenskiy Rayon it was a red letter day. After all, Aleksandra Golovina had been waiting for 7 years for her son, and her daughter Tatyana for her brother, to return from military service. For 6 years there had been no sign of life from Nikolay. He was "missing"....

He was serving in one of the units of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. After 1 year and 2 months there, he was captured by the rebels. "We fell into their hands through our own stupidity," he said about himself and his comrade Igor Kovalchuk from Kharkov at a news conference held the day before yesterday.

For 2 years detachments of the armed opposition kept him on Afghan territory. Then they dispatched him to Pakistan. There he stayed another 2 years. He tried to run away, was captured by the Pakistani police, and handed back to the rebels.

At one point he cut his veins. "They did not feed me enough. There were no cigarettes. I threatened: If you don't give me food, I'll put an end to myself. They did not believe me. I had to prove it."

The armed opposition leaders traded him like chattel.

For money?

For weapons....

It seemed to me that he was reluctant to talk about his captivity; he said little. He felt uncomfortable in front of the photo and television cameras.

Foreign journalists tried to establish details about his service in the limited contingent, the way he was captured, and his time as a prisoner. For some reason many of ours were pussyfooting around him. Incidentally, I know why.

...The day before, I had spent half a day in one of the departments of the N.N. Burdenko Main Military Clinical Hospital. I talked to the "Afghans"—privates, sergeants, and officers. One had lost a leg, another both legs, a third one an arm. They were disabled. All, down to the last one, had been decorated with combat orders and medals.

And Golovin? So he was poorly fed, was he? So they did not give him any cigarettes? So they traded him for weapons? For U.S. "Stingers" perhaps? Or Italian mines? He was uncomfortable at the news conference. I can imagine what he would have felt like had he been in the hospital among his fellow soldiers.

Incidentally, it is not for me to judge him, nor will there be any trial. As the USSR Prosecutor General A.Ya. Sukharev stated a few days ago on behalf of the Soviet state, servicemen from the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan who return home from captivity or foreign countries will enjoy all the political, social, and other rights of Soviet citizens laid down in the USSR Constitution. And even those who committed misdemeanors [prostupok] against our fatherland will be amnestied.

This statement has reached all the corners of the world, Nikolay Golovin related. After 4 years in captivity he spent a year and 7 months in Canada, along with his friend Igor Kovalchuk and three other former Soviet servicemen. Nikolay rented a room in an apartment belonging to a Russian emigre family and worked as a construction worker and casual laborer, and had recently found a job at a meat combine.

Why did he not try to return?

I was afraid. They told us that prison was in store for us at home, and possibly execution.

He learned about the statement of the USSR Prosecutor General from the newspapers in the evening of 17 July.

He telephoned the Soviet Consulate the next morning.

And on 19 July at 0630 Canadian time he left Montreal by air for Moscow. At 1300 Moscow time he was climbing down the ramp onto the tarmac at the capital's Sheremetyevo Airport.

"I am home," he said, "I am glad. Thank you."

He is 25 years old. For 7 of these years he had not seen his homeland, his friends, his family. Yesterday he was back with them.

This is how the complicated odyssey of former serviceman Nikolay Golovin ended, one of the more than 300 Soviet servicemen whose return is being sought by our country.

Regiment's Withdrawal From Afghanistan Described

PM1907115188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Jul 88 First Edition pp 2, 5

[Report by special correspondents Colonel G. Miranovich and Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik: "The Road From Fayzabad"]

[Text] Kabul-Konduz-Fayzabad—The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is continuing in strict accordance with the provisions of the Geneva agreements. Yesterday the "X" motorized rifle regiment set off for home from Badakhshan Province.

Those who have visited this military town, located in a small valley surrounded by picturesque mountains not far from Fayzabad—the administrative center of Badakhshan Province, which is in Northeast Afghanistan—have commented in different ways on its life. I have frequently heard it said that it is relatively calm here.

...It was only when we arrived at the garrison that we understood what lay behind this reservation.

"Things were only calm in our town when we did not go out onto the road," Lieutenant Colonel V. Bashkirov, the regiment's commander, said. "But several times a year we absolutely had to go out onto that accursed road."

The road to Fayzabad.... Looking at a map of Afghanistan, it is easy to guess the role played in the region by this, essentially the only transport artery linking Badakhshan, high in the mountains, with the Republic's northern and central provinces. But it has been virtually unused by civilians because it was under the control of two large antigovernment groupings headed by Ahmad Shah Mas'ud and Basir [as published], who shared the "zones of influence." To some degree this probably also explained the

"relative calm" in the region. The local opposition had to deal with the newly arrived antigovernment formations—clashes between them were frequent.

But as soon as Soviet and Afghan servicemen went out on the road to escort convoys with material and other stocks for the troops and the province, explosions resounded here again.... The road to Fayzabad, packed with explosives and raked by fire from the adjacent heights, became a living hell. To escort the convoys carrying the freight without which Badakhshan, isolated from the center, was expiring, the commanding heights had to be taken from the rebels, the road had to be cleared of mines and fougasses, and obstacles and other barriers had to be overcome.

And so it was from one year to the next. In the quarters of one company we saw a stand with the names of the dead servicemen: P.M. Beitov, S.V. Kolomoyets, A.I. Lavrentyev.... Many of our boys died here. And how can we fail here to mention the song born in the garrison:

Fayzabad, Fayzabad!

You were both paradise and hell,

But that is how we loved you....

Yes, that is the tough logic of this undeclared war: the escorting of every convoy—and every day, we were told by the headquarters of our troops' limited contingent, 30-35 and more convoys travel along Afghanistan's roads—is connected with combat operations.

Naturally this presupposes the existence of the relevant organs of management. And these organs exist at all points where troops are stationed. Their part is played by special subdivisions in which 24-hour tours of combat duty have been established. The modern communications facilities with which they are equipped enable the duty officers to constantly have a clear idea of what is happening in each platoon and at each post. Where physical and geographical conditions make it impossible to maintain steady communication by the usual method, retransmitters are used. The control of convoys from a central command point is also effected with their aid.

Familiarizing us with elements of combat control, a considerable proportion of which consists of electronic devices and modern computer equipment, Major General Yu. Grekov, the contingent's chief of staff, also mentioned the problems which perturb him. It turned out, for instance, that even in a combat situation when the officers of the command echelon have to operate within a particularly tough time limit, far from all succeed in rapidly reorganizing themselves [perestroitsya] and renouncing their possibly biased attitude toward electronics. The habit of obsolete methods of resolving tasks, the habit of stereotypes and cliche, often becomes a delaying factor in combat work.

On hearing the general, whose work chart, incidentally, contained everything relating to the regiment's withdrawal, right up to tracing the platoons' strongpoints, we admitted that it was hard to avoid the thought that in their daily training in a peacetime situation many of our officers and generals are far from being so scrupuluous. Yet in principle we all train for battle. Why not immediately train in this way, while conditions permit, so that we do not have to retrain later?

A seemingly rhetorical question. Yet even here, in the mountains and ravines of Afghanistan, men have been lost solely because someone once did not learn something properly. Of course, it is no accident that, in addressing the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, Hero of the Soviet Union Lieutenant General B. Gromov, commander of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, cited the cadres' professional training as among the problems which perturb him as a military leader. It faces him particularly acutely.

We witnessed how, in specifying the procedure for the interaction of forces and facilities brought in to back up the withdrawal of the subunits from Fayzabad, Lieutenant General Gromov made amendments to the plans and decisions of some commanders and chiefs. It is to be supposed that he did not do this for the fun of it. For instance, when one chief reported optimistically that the opposition was not planning any hostilities in the region of our troops' forthcoming withdrawal, the commander tactfully asked him to specify whether it was not planning or not mounting hostilities.... A substantial difference, there's no denying. The general asked a representative of the rear services to report on how fresh vegetables were to be delivered not to the command post but directly to the companies.... A regiment commander who had counted on using tactical airborne assault forces in fulfilling a combat task was asked to think again about his decision....

Not omitting a single detail, not taking a single unconsidered step—this was the direction in which officers were pointed by the contingent commander and political department chief in specifying questions of collaboration. The situation also demanded this.

Lieutenant Colonel M. Pevnev, an officer in the engineering service with whom we arrived in Fayzabad on the eve of the start of measures to back up the withdrawal of the local garrison, showed us his work chart. The information which it reflected regarding the engineering reconnaissance of the route spoke for itself: On the 220 km section of the road from Fayzabad to Konduz which the regiment had to travel at the first stage of the withdrawal, there were up to 10 destroyed bridges, numerous flooded sectors, and at least 40 km of road which were a dense minefield. Later these data were to get further additions and be made more specific several times, and we would persuade ourselves again and again of the toughness and perfidy of mine warfare.

In mining transport arteries, hamlets abandoned by the inhabitants, schools, hospitals, mosques, and approaches to water sources, the rebels are doing it subtly, using the experience and immediate leadership of instructors who have acquired their skill in such matters in the world's "hot" spots. So-called nonstandard fougasses produced by the rebels themselves are used particularly extensively. Many of them ended up with our sappers on the road to Fayzabad. Advancing at a speed of 1-1.5 km an hour, the division's support detachment under the command of Major G. Lebed removed 7-8 fougasses per kilometer on some sectors.

"That is still not the greatest density of mining on Afghan roads," Gennadiy Mikhaylovich told us. "And it is not only a matter of density. It is worse when the fougasses are laid without the fuse, which makes them easier to detect. This fougasse lies for a month or two or three at a depth such that you cannot find it.... And when necessary a fuse is installed on it....

Yes, however much those responsible for the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan try to protect people, to prevent losses, accidents do occur sometimes. For instance, while we were talking with Lieutenant Colonel Aleksandr Grigoryevich Solyanikov and Aleksandr Stanislavovich Ferko, surely we could not suppose that we were seeing these two combat officers and recipients of state awards for the last time, that the armored carrier on which the two men—a very experienced scout and an artilleryman—were to set off on their journey would be blown up on a fougasse not far from Fayzabad...

It is hard to write about losses in war. It is a thousand times harder when you know you will be home soon. And what words can be used to describe those who, having signed the Geneva agreements and thus undertaken to halt any interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, are continuing the course toward the destabilization of the internal situation here.

During our subunits' preparation for withdrawal from Fayzabad, we learned that the headquarters of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" in Peshawar had decided to create the "Pamir" zone main staff to lead the opposition's activity in Baghlan, Takhar, Konduz, and Badakhshan provinces, and that Pakistani advisers are taking part in organizing this staff. Then reports began to come in of the transfer to the staff's zone of influence of caravans carrying weapons and ammunition and armed detachments of rebels.

Talking with servicemen from the Afghan units stationed in this zone and with the inhabitants, we also noted something else. The galvanization of the activity of the armed detachments, coordinated from across the border, is being accompanied—especially where the opposition is not succeeding in achieving success through force—by the dissemination of various rumors aimed at undermining the prestige of the government troops and lawful authorities.

"Even the relocation of some units envisaged by our command is being presented by the rebels to the inhabitants of population centers from which we are withdrawing as a retreat and sometimes virtually flight," we were told by Lieutenant Colonel Muhammed Khamayum [name as published], commander of an infantry regiment, who had come to our garrison with representatives of his staff to say goodbye to the motorized riflemen with whom the Afghan servicemen had shared the hardships and privations of field campaign life.

A little earlier a whole commission had arrived here headed by Senior Lieutenant Abdulhamid [name as published], chief of the regiment's armored service, which engaged in receiving housing premises, engineering and other installations, and property handed over to the Afghan side. Abdulhamid and his companions were satisfied: All the garrison's facilities were in excellent condition and ready for operation. The Afghan comrades particularly liked Senior Lieutenant I. Rybakov's "holding"—the field water supply point. Tens of tonnes of water a day are provided by the small collective, headed by Senior Ensign A. Bagnet, which services it. And the water is literally spring water. Frankly, exhausted by the 70 degree heat of Fayzabad, we had never tasted better water!

Under the accord some of the minefields are also being handed over to the Afghan command. In this region, Lieutenant Colonel Pevnev explained to us, it is mainly antipersonnel mines which have been laid. Almost all minefields have already been destroyed, a few have been handed over to the Afghans. With the relevant documentation, naturally. The fields are fenced off and warning signs in Dari, Pushtun, and Russian have been set up on the approaches to them.

Returning to our talk with the infantry regiment commander, let us note that it is not that simple to combat the rumors to which the opposition has been resorting particularly actively recently. The local PDPA organs, political workers, and the units' army mullahs are having to take countermeasures.

"We are trying to reassure people, to explain the situation to them, to strengthen faith in the strength of our army and the lawful authorities," our interlocutor continued his story.

We could convince ourselves of the effectiveness of this work on the spot, seeing how calmly the peasants from the surrounding villages were working on their fields. As always they were performing the age-old task of grain cultivation thoroughly, without making allowances for any circumstances whatever. At any rate that is how it looked to an onlooker. Our attempt to take a look at the problem from the inside, so to speak, was not crowned by success. The inhabitants of the village closest to the

garrison, who had always joyfully welcomed the regiment's envoys who came with food and necessities arriving as free aid from the Soviet Union, on this occasion did not even come out to meet our delegation.

Indeed, there is a special story here....

The point is that literally an hour later a strike from an ambush was delivered against our convoy. In fact, it was the start of the regiment's combat operations connected with its withdrawal from Fayzabad.

...We learned the details of the battle in the morning at the unit medical center, talking with Senior Lieutenant Aleksandr Lykhin, deputy commander of the reconnaissance platoon. The recipient of the "for valor" medal and the Komsomol Central Committee "military bravery" badge, who hails from Toliyatti, felt that he was not yet clearly aware of what had happened to him and was simply embarrassed by his temporary helplessness, not knowing what to do with his wounded arm.

...Senior Lieutenant Lykhin and another two scouts—Privates Sergey Petrushchenko and Yuriy Tyurin—were proceeding as members of a patrol party. The familiar path winding along the river Kowkcheh, thundering among the rocks, a path checked by the sapper who had gone ahead, had already taken them nearly all the way to the village which they were to reconnoiter when bandits' bullets came from the village and then from adjacent heights on both sides. Captain M. Ablakulov, the company commander, ordered Lykhin to retreat. And with Tyurin, under cover of Sergey Petrushchenko's machinegun fire, had already almost left the battle when an enemy bullet found Aleksandr.

"I must catch up with my men in Konduz," he said with emotion, stroking his bandaged arm, and we very much wanted to believe he would.

The scaling of the heights at the road to Fayzabad proved difficult for the motorized riflemen. Almost every height had to be taken with a battle. But it was no easier for those who had to back up the regiment's withdrawal. The sappers, scouts, communications troops, artillerymen, airmen.... On one occasion we flew in a helicopter piloted by Colonel G. Leonov. It turned out that this was his 100th combat flight. His 100th in...less than 2 months. That is the intensity of the helicopter pilots' work here.

It was also hard for those coming to meet the motorized riflemen, occupying command heights, clearing their sector of the route of mines and fougasses. This lot befell in particular the servicemen of the guards paratroopers regiment under the command of Hero of the Soviet Union Guards Lieutenant Colonel V. Vostrotin. The forging of the mountain river of Kowkcheh, whose water level had risen several feet, was particularly difficult. The torrential, rapid currents swept away everything in their path. Previously reconnoitered fords disappeared, rickety bridges were destroyed.... Helicopters had to be used to transfer men and weapons to the opposite bank. This was all done under fire from the rebels, in a difficult mine situation.

Vostrotin's airborne troops, like the other subunits, opened the road to Fayzabad on schedule. First food and fuel for the local population and the Afghan military garrison were delivered along it in several convoys and then the subunits of the motorized rifle regiment advanced on the road to the motherland.

...The inhabitants of Fayzabad and the servicemen of the Afghan Army and people's militia came to see off the motorized riflemen with banners and posters expressing loyalty to the indestructible Soviet-Afghan friendship and combat fraternity. There were not that many of them: The simple peasants fear the revenge of the "intransigents." But all those who had been warmed by our friendship, who had been defended by the courageous "shuravi" from the rebels' terror throughout the long years of the undeclared war, came to see off the Soviet international servicemen on their way to the motherland.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Talks on Southern Africa Arouse 'Hope'

PM2107092488 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent B. Pilyatskin dispatch under the rubric "Pertinent Remarks": "Light at End of Tunnel"]

[Text] Maputo—The paradoxes of diplomacy: This item of news arrived here, in southern Africa, from a militarized base; however, it aroused not alarm but hope in people's hearts. Hope that common sense and political realism will finally close the long period of confrontation and tension in the region.

I am talking about the results of the meeting of representatives from Angola, Cuba, the RSA, and the United States, which has ended on Governors Island in New York Bay, where a U.S. Coast Guard base is situated. They discussed the problem of a political settlement in southern Africa.

It is reported that an agreement was reached on the need to grant independence to Namibia on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 435. The global settlement package provides for the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola. It is confirmed that Angola and Cuba will work toward the phased withdrawal of the Cuban contingent. The present talks involving representatives of Angola, Cuba, and the RSA at the level of experts with U.S. mediation stem from the two previous meetings held in London in May and in Cairo in June; a fact which attests that the talks process, which has begun, is continuing. According to the participants, the last round took place in a serious, constructive atmosphere,

and a step forward was taken. At the same time, political observers drew attention to a statement by C. Crocker, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, who pointed out that "the intensive contacts between Washington and Moscow" helped to clear the way for progress at the talks.

Thus, the truth that the world is indivisible is reaffirmed. Everything in it is interconnected, and the lowering of the "threshold of tension" in relations between the two leading powers is already having a beneficial impact on the overall international atmosphere, including the situation in various of the planet's hot spots. Without drawing analogies, I wish to point out that the Geneva accords on Afghanistan and the spirit of new thinking and new nonstandard approaches, which enabled the Soviet Government to begin withdrawing its troops from Afghanistan, undoubtedly played a positive role for this dialogue.

What will a settlement in southern Africa provide, if it is reached despite all the considerable difficulties that exist?

Above all, UN Security Council Resolution 435 on the granting of independence to Namibia will be implemented 10 years after it was adopted. This will be an act of justice with regard to not only the long-suffering Namibian people but also the whole of Africa—the last colony will disappear from its political map. Displaying restraint and tact, the leadership of the South-West African People's Organization [SWAPO] has declared through Toivo Ja Toivo, its general secretary, that SWAPO's participation in the talks at the present time would be premature. At the same time, in supporting the Angolan-Cuban proposals, the organization, which the United Nations has recognized as the Namibian people's sole legitimate representative, confirms its readiness to contribute to the cause of the problem's speediest settlement.

Angola will benefit tangibly from this. For many years now it has been forced to struggle against not only the antigovernment grouping of the National Union for the Total Indpendence of Angola [UNITA] but also the RSA regular army, which supports it and which, contrary to all the norms of international law, is occupying the country's southern regions. Under conditions when Namibia becomes an independent state, Pretoria will no longer have a bridgehead for aggression against Angola nor an opportunity for direct armed support of UNITA. It is not for nothing that the latter's leader, J. Savimbi, is in a hurry to reorient himself toward other patrons—above all in the United States—and is seeking in the West recognition of the legality of his existence on Angolan soil.

The foreign anti-Mozambique lobby is also stepping up activity on the quiet, "recommending" the Government of Mozambique to enter into negotiations with its own "Savimbis" in the ranks of the Mozambique National Resistance Movement. The central Maputo newspaper NOTICIAS recently published a statement by J. Chissano, president of the Republic, in which he categorically rejected the possibility of holding any talks with the bandits sowing death and destruction on Mozambican soil.

The next round of quadripartite talks is scheduled for the beginning of August. "A long road still lies ahead, but a boost has been given, and confidence to continue acting has been established," Neil van Heerden, general director of the RSA Foreign Ministry, declared at the end of the New York meeting. This is a reassuring assessment, although I will not conceal the fact that I remember many such actions by the South African authorities which have led not toward trust and peace but in the directly opposite direction. We shall see what we shall see, as the saying goes. Meanwhile, the document formulated as a result of the New York meeting with the participation of South African representatives awaits approval in Pretoria. Why? Did they not have sufficient powers?

And yet light can be seen at the end of the long, dark tunnel of a settlement. Having set our sights on the end of the tunnel, it is necessary to travel the rest of the path.

East Europe

44th Anniversary of Polish 'Rebirth' Celebrated

Antonov Attends Events

PM2207114188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Ceremonial Meeting"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting marking the 44th anniversary of Poland's rebirth was held in Moscow on 21 July.

A report was delivered by USSR Minister M.I. Shchadov, deputy chairman of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society Central Board.

G. Bednarskii, head of a Polish-Soviet Friendship Society delegation and chairman of its main board, spoke about how Polish working people are tackling socioeconomic development tasks.

V.S. Astrauskas, deputy chairman of the the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; leaders of a number of ministries and departments; and representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations took part in the meeting.

W. Natorf, Polish ambassador to the USSR, was present at the meeting.

On the same day, W. Natorf held a reception marking the national holiday. It was attended by V.S. Astrauskas, A.K. Antonov, and other officials, as well as members of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society delegation.

Leaders Congratulated

PM2207114788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[Greetings message from leadership bodies to Polish leaders Jaruzelski and Messner]

[Text] To Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish Council of State.

Comrade Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers.

Dear Comrades!

To mark your national holiday—the 44th anniversary of Poland's rebirth—the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the entire Soviet people send you, the PZPR Central Committee, the Polish Council of Ministers, and all Polish working people cordial congratulations and best wishes.

The Soviet people react with profound interest and a sense of international solidarity to the efforts of the PZPR, allied parties, and all patriotic forces aimed at resolving topical problems of the country's economic and social development.

The new approaches to bilateral collaboration elaborated by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 10th PZPR Congress and restructuring in the USSR and the line of socialist renewal and reforms being implemented in Poland are creating favorable preconditions for raising Soviet-Polish relations to a qualitatively higher level. The official friendly visit by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary to Poland in July 1988 and the accords secured in the course of that visit were a powerful boost to this process. Our collaboration is based on profound mutual understanding, respect for one another, sincerity, and complete trust. All strata of the population and representatives of various generations are taking an active part in drawihg the Soviet and Polish peoples closer together.

We value highly the great efforts which Poland is making to consolidate peace and ensure security in Europe and throughout the world. It is making a weighty contribution to strengthening the Warsaw Pact, which was shown once again during the preparations for and in the course of the Political Consultative Committee conference held recently in the Polish capital.

On the day of the anniversary of Poland's rebirth, expressing the thoughts and feelings of Soviet people, we wish you, good comrades and all Polish working people, successes in resolving the tasks facing the country in socialist building and we wish you happiness and prosperity.

The CPSU

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The USSR Council of Ministers.

Supreme Soviet Presidium Honors Poland's Czyrek

LD1907215388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] By decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Comrade Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, has been awarded the Order of the October Revolution for his contribution to the development of friendship and cooperation between the Polish People's Republic and the Soviet Union and in connection with his 60th birthday.

Gorbachev Greets Polish Song Festival

PM2107132788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[Greetings message from M.S. Gorbachev to Vitebsk Polish song festival]

[Text] To the participants in and guests of the All-Union Polish song festival

I cordially greet the participants in and guests of the All-Union Polish song festival in Vitebsk.

Your festival is a manifestation of the spiritual closeness of the Soviet and Polish peoples and of their enormous interest in one another, which I once again saw for myself during my recent trip to Poland. Today, when we are increasing our efforts to renew socialism and radically restructure all spheres of public life, art is being given new scope and can do more to strengthen fraternal cooperation among our peoples.

Song is one of the most popular and beloved genres. It helps people to penetrate the heart of a friend and to understand and love him. The invariable success of the Soviet song festival in Zielona Gora shows this very convincingly.

I wish you great creative success, vivid impressions, and memorable meetings on hospitable Belorussian soil.

M. Gorbachev

Katushev, Bulgarian Minister Discuss Trade Ties

LD2107222288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1716 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jul (TASS)—Talks took place today between Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, and Andrey Lukanov, PRB [People's Republic of Bulgaria] minister of foreign economic relations. Questions relating to Soviet-Bulgarian trade and economic cooperation were discussed.

On the same day, an intergovernmental agreement was signed on the involvement of the PRB in the construction of the Krivoy Rog mining and concentration combine. The implementation of the agreement on a long-term basis wiill enable Bulgaria's requirements for ferruginous raw material to be met and will promote the PRB's wider involvement in the integrational process of the countries of the socialist community.

The agreement was signed by Konstantin Katushev, Serafim Kolpakov, USSR minister of ferrous metallurgy, and Andrey Lukanov.

Zhivkov Opens BCP Central Committee Plenum

PM2107143388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Platform of Renewal"]

[Text] Sofia, 20 Jul—A plenum of the BCP Central Committee devoted to questions of restructuring the spiritual sphere has been held here. It was opened by BCP Central Committee General Secretary T. Zhivkov.

In his opening address on the three documents on restructuring in the sphere of science, culture, and education previously issued for nationwide discussion, Y. Yotov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, stressed that restructuring is inconceivable without developing the nation's intellectual potential. The need for renewal is acutely felt in the spiritual sphere. Renewal must be carried out on the basis of the principles of self-management by democratizing the life of creative collectives and developing constructive criticism.

In their speeches, the plenum participants expressed their determination to uncompromisingly jettison everything that is outmoded and hinders society's headway.

A decision was made which set the BCP Central Committee Politburo the task of making the necessary amendments and additions to the documents on restructuring the spiritual sphere on the basis of the nationwide debate and discussion at the plenum. They will be presented as the platform for the preparation of upcoming congresses of figures in science, the arts, and public education,

The plenum also examined organizational questions. The plenum removed Svetlin Rusev from the BCP Central Committee, released Stoyan Mikhaylov from his duties as secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and met Stanko Todorov's request to be released from his duties as member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Chudomir Aleksandrov's request to be released fron his duties as member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

The closing address was delivered to the plenum by T. Zhivkov.

New Salaries Set for Hungarian Leaders

LD2107103788 Budapest MTI in English 0853 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 21, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—As from July 1 this year, the president of the Presidential Council and the prime minister of Hungary receive 150 per cent of the salary set for ministers.

These facts are published in the latest issue of the Official Gazette. This means a monthly pre-tax salary of 97,500 forints ($1,800) and a net sum of 39,700 forints ($735) after paying income tax, pension dues and trade union membership charges.

The new decree also applies to the speaker of parliament who gets a gross monthly salary of 78,000 forints ($1,444) and a net salary of 33,900 forints ($628) just as much a month as the deputy prime ministers and the state ministers receive.

The secretary of the Presidential Council, the president of the high court of justice and the chief prosecutor receive just as much as ministers do, their salary now is a gross 65,000 forints ($1,203) and a net 30,000 forints ($555) a month.

The Presidential Council's decree authorizes the government to formulate a special decree on the pension of state leaders but this has not yet been disclosed.

The average monthly pre-tax wages in Hungary are over 8,000 forints ($150).

Savu-Led RCP Delegation Visits Soviet Union

PM2107132188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] In conformity with the plan for contacts, a delegation of RCP party workers headed by I. Savu, member of the RCP Central Committee and first secretary of the Alba RCP Judet, familiarized itself on 13-20 July with CPSU experience of work in carrying out cadre policy

under conditions of restructuring. Meetings and conversations took place at the CPSU Central Committee Department of Organizational Party Work, the Novgorod CPSU Obkom, the PRAVDA editorial office, and the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences.

Briefs

Business Association With SFRY

Moscow, July 21 TASS—The Soviet Association of Business Cooperation With Yugoslavia has been formed at a constituent meeting held here today. Its founders are over 80 industrial, agricultural, trade and scientific-research associations and organisations of different regions of the country. Yevgeniy Voronichev, chief engineer of the Moscow S. Ordzhonikidze machine-tool building amalgamation, was elected chairman of the council of that public organisation, called upon to promote the development and consolidation of their business relations with Yugoslav firms. Andrey Ganin, who represented for a long time Soviet foreign trade associations in Yugoslavia, was endorsed as its general director. The association will render practical aid to Soviet organisations and their business partners from Yugoslavia in mastering new forms and areas of economic, scientific and technological cooperation, promote the development of Soviet export, integration of production, joint ventures. With this aim it will search for potential partners in both countries to establish direct contacts between them, carry out cordination of their commercial proposals, render financial support to projects of cooperation. The association has the right to make foreign trade, crediting and another legal transactions, to open branches and representations both in the USSR and in YUgoslavia. [Text] [*LD2207032088 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 21 Jul 88*]

West Europe

Demichev Meets With FRG Schoolchildren

PM2107142188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "FRG Schoolchildren in the Kremlin"]

[Text] Experts on restructuring in the USSR—this definition could be fully applied to a group of senior schoolchildren from the FRG who visited the Kremlin on 20 July. They proved their knowledge on this subject by winning an essay competition on transformations in the Soviet Union in their own country. It had been organized by the federation of "FRG-USSR" societies. The winners' prize was a trip to our country.

In the Kremlin the schoolchildren were received by P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. An interesting, relaxed, and frank conversation took place with regard to the impact of Soviet restructuring not only on the life of the Soviet society but also on the world political climate in general, and about ways of bringing the domestic and international potential of restructuring more fully into play. The schoolchildren noted that the processes of renewal in the USSR had made them take a different view of socialism and to give up many of their former prejudices and stereotyped notions about Soviet people. They expressed support for restructuring and the peace-loving foreign policy course of the Soviet state. The schoolchildren unanimously expressed themselves in favor of developing and strengthening multifaceted ties and cooperation between the governments, peoples, and younger generation of the FRG and the USSR and emphasized that this is above all important in the sphere of preserving and strengthening peace.

P.N. Demichev answered the visitors' questions and helped them to gain a better understanding of individual aspects of restructuring and Soviet domestic and foreign policy.

Taking part in the conversation was V.V. Tereshkova, chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, and D. Sperling, president of the federation of "FRG-USSR" societies.

On the same day a conversation between V.V. Tereshkova and the group of schoolchildren from the FRG took place.

FRG's Kohl Welcomes Improved East-West Ties

LD2107205588 Moscow TASS in English 1953 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Bonn July 21 TASS—The 19th all-union party conference has reaffirmed the course of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev aimed at carrying out transformations in the Soviet Union, and we welcome that.

This was stated at a press conference in Bonn today by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl. East and West positions drew closer owing to the recent meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states, he said. We welcome the fact that the documents of the Warsaw meeting of the Political Consultative Committee reaffirm the socialist states' call to come over to substantial reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals and start negotiations on this question yet in 1988.

Touching upon his forthcoming visit to the USSR, the head of the FRG's Government said he would be striving to use it for further development of constructive cooperation between the two countries. The chancellor said he intended to see to it that the favourable tendencies shaping in East-West relations should be made irreversible.

Italian CP Leader's Plenum Speech Reported

PM2107134988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "The Party Must Hold Dialogue"]

[Text] Rome, 20 Jul—Achille Occhetto, secretary general of the Italian Communist Party [PCI], delivered a report on "Preparations for the 18th PCI Congress," scheduled for early next year, at the PCI Central Committee and Central Control Commission Plenum which has opened here. He stressed that "profound political, programmatic, and organizational renewal must be initiated in the course of the broad precongress debate" and "it is better to see what has taken place and what is taking place in society."

The report devoted considerable attention to international problems. A. Occhetto stated that, following the Soviet Union's proposal to withdraw its comparable aircraft systems from their forward-based sites in Eastern Europe if NATO agrees not to deploy in Italy its 72 F-16 fighter bombers which Spain has rejected, the Italian Government is to raise this question once again for discussion in parliament and at NATO headquarters.

In recent years, the speaker said, a new constructive phase has opened in U.S.-USSR and East-West relations. "If people want other agreements to follow in the wake of those already concluded, especially in the sphere of the balanced reduction of conventional arms in Europe, this phase must be reinforced." "The applause for the agreement between Reagan and Gorbachev is hypocritical if concrete actions do not follow it," the PCI secretary general said.

A. Occhetto then indicated the need to seek new ways toward socialism. He pointed out that the USSR is now making efforts in this area, taking into consideration the experience of most varied countries. All progressive and socialist forces are called upon to seek these new ways, he stressed.

The speaker touched on the question of the significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution. "I recently wrote about the need to make a new assessment of October," he said. "But I would not like this to be seen as an appeal to forget the significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It is indeed an indelible watershed in the history of Europe and of the whole world."

Speaking about contemporary Italian society, the speaker stressed that "many people are living under constantly deteriorating conditions. Contrasts, injustice, discontent, sufferings, intolerance, and profound unrest are becoming intensified. This is manifest not only among the needy but also in broad and more successful social strata. At a time when people in other areas are revealing, albeit tardily, the value of a legal state, in Italy we are becoming increasingly remote from it. The essence of a legal state consists in the opportunity to subordinate the state's representatives to the force of law."

A. Occhetto devoted a considerable proportion of his speech to party history. "We Communists," he said, "are asking questions about our past. We are carrying out an honest and in-depth analysis, and this is a necessary condition for building a renewed Communist Party, better able to understand and guide complex modern society."

The speaker then indicated the need to work out a new PCI course and to build a "new Communist Party." He stressed the importance of boosting the working people's social and political role as the main condition for the country's renewal. To this end the social changes brought about by technological development and the development of consciousness must be perceived in a timely fashion.

The report also analyzed the problems of trade unions and the women's and youth movements and their ties with the PCI. The concluding section was devoted to internal party questions. "Today the problem consists in ensuring that the party is able to hold a dialogue with society and perceive its changes and requirements," the speaker said. Today's problems require a new method of management, the broadening of its leading role, and a struggle against routine and bureaucracy. "We must combat all attempts to restrict the fulfillment of concrete leading functions to the apparatus," A. Occhetto stressed. "We must work to introduce a new-concept apparatus."

In conclusion the speaker called for the party's activity to be galvanized in all areas during the preparations for the next congress.

A general debate began at the plenum.

Latin America & Caribbean

Shevardnadze Greets Brasilia Science Exhibition

PM2007131588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Russian Scientist Honored"]

[Text] Brasilia, 19 Jul—"Langsdorf's Return"—this is the title of an exhibition that opened in the Brazilian Foreign Ministry Exhibition Hall.

It honors Academician G.I. Langsdorf, the eminent Russian natural scientist and ethnographer who was Russia's consul general in the Brazilian city of Rio de Janeiro and headed the 1821-1829 ethnographic and botanical expedition that explored Brazil's interior regions. The collection of materials on the history, economy, flora, and fauna of this South American country gathered by the Russian explorers still

remains one of the richest in the world. The exhibition, presented for the first time outside the Soviet Union, shows original drawings, engravings, maps, and other documents of the expedition selected jointly by Soviet and Brazilian scientists.

Messages to the exhibition's visitors have been sent by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The exhibits on show, E.A. Shevardnadze's message says, are graphic proof that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our peoples are rooted deep in history. It has been 160 years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Brazil and Russia. Our peoples have always felt mutual sympathy and respect. Now we have full reason to speak of new opportunities in the development of Soviet-Brazilian relations, the document notes.

The exhibition was visited by President Jose Sarney of Brazil. Having shown great interest in the exhibition, he expressed gratitude to its organizers and emphasized its great importance.

Nicaraguan Ambassador Speaks on Revolution Day
LD1907200688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 19 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today is the Nicaraguan people's national holiday—Revolution Day. Taking part in our program is Ernesto Jose Castillo Martinez, ambassador of the Republic of Nicaragua to the Soviet Union.

[Castillo in Spanish fading into Russian translation] Comrades, we are today marking the 9th anniversary of the revolution of freedom, self-determination, and sovereignty and preserving the memory of the 50,000 Nicaraguans who gave their lives for the independence of their motherland. Nicaragua is a small country whose wealth was pillaged for decades by the U.S. imperialists with the agreement and approval of their local agents. The victory achieved in July 1979 inspired the hope that our industrious people would live in peace and, through its labor, create a society in which everyone would enjoy basic human rights, freedom, the right to education and health care, and adequate housing and food.

But our people's just and noble aspirations aroused the fury of U.S. imperialism. Acting through the Reagan administration, the most reactionary U.S. circles announced their aim to stifle the people's Sandinist revolution. Against all international norms and the elementary principles of coexistence of civilized nations, an unjust and criminal war was imposed upon us. Through all means possible, the Washington administration is providing support to the mercenaries who villanously kill women, children, and old people; who destroy schools, hospitals, and cooperatives; and who mine ports and carry out terrorist acts. This activity has evoked wide-ranging protests throughout the world and was condemned by the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

Nicaragua wants peace. All of Latin America wants peace throughout the world for all peoples. We are living in an age in which humanity, through the achievements of science and technology, has gone beyond the confines of terrestrial space. A struggle is now taking place to free humanity from the threat of nuclear catastrophe. The Soviet Union's initiatives have created realistic possibilities for establishing peaceful coexistence in the world which belongs to all peoples—large and small. In Nicaragua we are waging a difficult struggle for survival, and we are certain that our just cause will be victorious. The heroism and selflessness of our small population are receiving warm support and solidarity from many peoples of the world, including the U.S. people. Our revolution has managed to survive, and we are deeply convinced that we will continue to live as a sovereign and independent state by extracting the strength of our people's firm resolution to defend their revolutionary gains and of the fraternal support of the peoples of the world, including the Soviet people. And today, speaking on behalf of the people of Sandino, I express our cordial gratitude to you for your sentiments of solidarity with us and for your aspiration to attain peace for all humanity.

Interview With Ambassador
PA2007180688 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 0000 GMT 20 Jul 88

[Interview with Jose Ernesto Castillo Martinez, Nicaraguan ambassador to the Soviet Union, by correspondent Anselmo Septien; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Septien] Comrade Ambassador, on the anniversary of the historic triumph of the Nicaraguan revolution, what is your overall assessment of the situation in your country, domestically and internationally?

[Castillo] The very fact that the Sandinist people's revolution is 9 years old answers your question. It means that the revolution is solid and basically consolidated. In Nicaragua, we have many difficulties stemming from the hard economic situation imposed on us by the U.S. trade embargo. However, we are deeply aware of the revolution's achievements.

Abroad, I think we have earned the respect of the international community. We have shown maturity in our confrontation with U.S. imperialism. We are highly respected abroad. We have earned credibility thanks to actions taken by the revolutionary government to achieve peace. We think that given the safety of the Nicaraguan people at home and the backing our revolution receives from abroad, the overall assessment is positive.

[Septien] Mr Ambassador, I remember that 5 years ago, President Reagan forecasted the imminent defeat of the Nicaraguan revolution and the ouster of the Sandinist government or felt that this would occur in a matter of a few months. That prediction did not come true despite the intensity of the U.S. aggression. Why?

[Castillo] Simply because Mr Reagan's way of thinking derived from his arrogance and the U.S. determination to destroy the government. Based on the U.S. experience in Latin America, where the United States decided what government to install or oust, he forgot that a revolution was forged in Nicaragua. He forgot that a people who were aware of their freedom, sovereignty, and self-determination had emerged. In addition, he forgot that the attitude of the international community and Latin America—particularly toward the United States—was changing. That is why despite the very serious intensity of U.S. aggression, the Nicaraguan revolution has managed to survive.

[Septien] Let us continue this interview with one more question. President Daniel Ortega announced a number of measures to improve the economy. These measures include guarantees for the private sector. How is this process developing? What are Nicaragua's major difficulties and what causes them?

[Castillo] Since the triumph of the revolution, we have said that we were going to install a regime with a mixed economy. In this regime, the private sector was going to play an important role in rebuilding the country. However, the difficult economic situation has hindered this process. There is a trade embargo affecting the delivery of products. It is very difficult to obtain foreign currency. This hinders the effective operation of the private sector.

However, for the sake of rebuilding the country we are doing our best to create conditions so that the private sector can operate effectively in Nicaragua. Our chief difficulty is caused by the war imposed on us by U.S.imperialism, which hinders normal economic development and makes it difficult for the private sector to operate with guarantees of security and tranquility.

[Septien] One more question. The contras' attempts to achieve a military victory have virtually been defeated. However, we are noticing an increase in opposition activities against the government. How is the Nicaraguan Government dealing with this situation?

[Castillo] The contras do not pose a military threat that could jeopardize the Sandinist people's revolution. The contras are merely a mercenary instrument of the U.S. Administration. Therefore, contra military activities have dwindled not only because of the efficient fighting by our Armed Forces, but also because of the contras' inaction. There are serious internal problems within the contra ranks.

With regard to opposition activities against the government, we have to differentiate between the so-called opposition—which is in fact an instrument of the U.S. Administration and which supports the counterrevolution—and the normal opposition that participates in the assembly. Based on the legal framework of the revolution, the legal opposition criticizes the government and acts as an opposition party. We settle our problems with the legal opposition through dialogue. We have asked it to discuss the situation in Nicaragua. We agree on some points and disagree on others. However, we fully enforce revolutionary laws against those who support the criminal activities of the U.S. Administration.

[Septien] Mr Ambassador, we know the difficult situation that Nicaragua is going through, particularly with regard to its economy. In spite of that, I venture to ask: In your opinion, what are the fundamental achievements of the Nicaraguan revolution?

[Castillo] I would say that the fundamental achievement has been the establishment of the people's revolutionary power over the past 9 years—which has earned legitimacy within the international community—and having made the entire world, as well as our own people, aware that we are a nonaligned nation of free people who have dignity, sovereignty, and the right to self-determination.

We cannot talk about great economic achievements. However, even amid the present difficulties, the people have access to benefits that were never within their reach under the U.S.-imposed Somozist dictatorship—benefits such as housing, education, health, etc.

[Septien] Mr Ambassador, the Esquipulas agreements and the negotiations between the government and the contras have led to a cease-fire. Will it be possible to maintain it and to achieve lasting peace?

[Castillo] In fact, the Esquipulas agreements and the positive steps taken in Central America toward achieving peace are due to Nicaragua's responsible and flexible position, the attitude of the Central American presidents, and particularly the efforts of the Contadora and Support Groups, which have encouraged Nicaragua's peace efforts. We feel that if the Reagan administration were to realize that Nicaragua does not pose a threat to U.S. security and if it were to end the aggression against our people, it would then be very easy to achieve complete regional peace. However, for all intents and purposes, the responsibility falls upon the United States—more specifically, on the Reagan administration.

[Septien] Thank you very much, Ambassador Ernesto Castillo Martinez, for granting this interview to Radio Moscow.

CPSU Delegation Departs for Ecuadoran Congress

PM2007131188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "To the Party Congress"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by V.I. Smirnov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and second secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, has left Moscow for Quito to participate in the work of the 11th Ecuadoran Communist Party Congress.

CPSU Greets Ecuadoran Communist Party Congress

PM2107133988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee greetings message to Ecuadoran Communist Party Congress]

[Text] To the 11th Ecuadoran Communist Party Congress

The CPSU Central Committee sends ardent greetings to the delegates of the 11th Ecuadoran Communist Party [PCE] Congress and all Ecuadoran Communists.

Soviet Communists know that the PCE is in the forefront of fighters for the interests of the working class and all working people and consistently advocates strengthening its homeland's independence, the democratization of its sociopolitical life, and social progress.

Remaining true to internationalist traditions, Ecuadoran Communists invariably show solidarity with liberation movements in other countries. Their contribution to the struggle to establish national sovereignty and remove the fetters of neocolonialism that is being waged by the peoples of Latin America in their legitimate desire to determine their own path of development and play in world affairs a role corresponding to their enormous potential and freedom-loving aspirations is well known.

We hold in high esteem the PCE's support for Soviet foreign policy initiatives aimed at preventing nuclear catastrophe, creating an all-embracing system of political and economic security, and defending the peoples' right to free political and social choice.

In pursuing its strategic course of restructuring the CPSU is tackling the historic task of creating social conditions whereby economic, scientific, and technical progress would be organically combined with social justice, morality, and the wealth of man's spiritual existence. The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which made major decisions on deepening restructuring and democratizing the party and society, is a very important event in the party's life. Its results confirmed that the CPSU will continue to develop all genuinely socialist values and remove everything that distorted revolutionary theory and the face of socialism. Lenin's party will strengthen solidarity with the struggle of communist and workers parties and all social forces for peace, social progress, freedom, and democracy.

The CPSU is in favor of further developing the comradely relations linking our parties.

We hope that the decisions of your congress will help unite party ranks and increase the PCE's influence among the broad masses of the people.

Long live the friendship between the CPSU and the PCE and the peoples of our countries!

CPSU Central Committee

Political & Social

Further on Events in Armenia, Azerbaijan

Stepanakert Remains Idle

LD2107211888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report from Stepanakert by special correspondent P. Guskov and V. Gerasev]

[Text] Stepanakert presented us today with a very sad but, I am afraid, a customary picture. Workers are still not going out to construction sites. On this building, a new hotel, not a brick has been laid for 5 months. No production has come out of the gates of the Stepanakert electrical equipment works or from many other enterprises. [video shows buses and other vehicles standing idle]

People who are awaited at their machines, on their construction sites, in the cabs of trucks, people who have work waiting for them which will help their own people, are spending the days on the streets. So the lack of conscientiousness on the part of some people is hindering others who recognize their responsibility as workers. And it is no coincidence that it is precisely and primarily from the workers, from Armenians and Azerbaijanis, that we heard the angry demands that those who brought these events into being should be finally brought to account with the full severity of the law. [video shows interviews in progress; young men hover around close by but turn away when the camera is directed at them]

Unknown people incessantly appeared and hovered around near us, hindering our conversations, demanding that our questions should not be answered. They are not ashamed to tell lies and to distort reports. And again and again this makes people nervous. [video shows people walking away from the camera]

And here the leaders, the party workers, should be going out onto the streets and squares, going around people's houses to tell people the truth. For today, special demands are being made on them, on the leaders.

We tried to have a conversation with the director of the Stepanakert electrical equipment works. We wanted to know what, specifically, he was doing now to try to ensure that people should return to normal life, to their work. But (Boris Sergeyevich Arusyanyan) did not come out to meet us in the vestibule of the enterprise. That is how words and deeds are at such variance today in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Students of the Yerevan [word indistinct]-88 unit have not yet constructed a single house where people would happily have moved in.

Construction materials, ferro-concrete components, equipment, and foodstuffs remain in the railroad cars for weeks. It seems that someone wants, very greatly wants, people, today, now, not to be able to feel how realistic is the program adopted by the party Central Committee for the development of Nagorno-Karabakh, not to understand that as early as tomorrow it will be possible to solve many problems of the autonomous oblast.

Lost Production in NKAO

NC2107095688 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 21 Jul 88

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] Materials on the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which examined the question on Nagorno-Karabakh, are the center of attention of the working people of the republic. They believe that their main task is to catch up with the backlog of work allowed as a result of the prolonged strikes, put all their energies into creative labor, and embark on the realization of the economic and social development program.

This is what the paper's editorial says: As a whole, during the strike period the republic underdelivered production to the approximate value of R70 million. Total losses are many times above this figure. In Yerevan alone the population failed to receive nearly 400 apartments and [words indistinct]. The republic has also suffered great moral losses [words indistinct]. Workers from all corners of the country are asking their brothers not to disrupt their labor rhythms. Quite a few cables have arrived by mail at the editorial offices from Novosibirsk, Zlatoust, Zaporozhye, Kharkov, Odessa, and Chelyabinsk. The leaders and councils of labor collectives, concerned by the situation that has been created, are voicing the hope that the working people of Armenia will be able to cope with [words indistinct] and display the correct understanding of state interests, professional solidarity, and a high sense of discipline.

NKAO TU Chief Comments

PM2107122388 Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 Jul 88 p 4

["Own Information" report: "Stepanakert, 20 July"]

[Text] Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—The situation in Nagorno- Karabakh is still complex. The strike is continuing. The oblast newspaper was not published on 20 July.

"Early this morning, some people in Stepanakert tried to stop the work of certain essential enterprises: the dairy and the bakery," S. Davidyan, chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast Trade Union Council, told our correspondent over the telephone. "However, thanks to the measures that were taken, it proved possible to prevent this. A meeting was held at the party obkom, which outlined the tasks of party and soviet organs and social

organizations in explaining the substance of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution to the masses, fulfilling its decisions, and restoring order in the city."

"It must be admitted," S. Davidyan noted, "that in the complex situation the oblast's trade union organization lacked the authority and the arguments to influence peoples' mood and the course of events. Now we intend to concentrate all our attention on individual explanatory work in labor collectives. It is difficult to expect rapid success, but in time, we hope that this will produce results...."

Yerevan Workers on Strike

NC2107094788 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 21 Jul 88

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] Comrade Arutyunyan, a toolmakers' brigade leader at the Elektropribor Production Association, and Comrade Simonyan, the chief technician at the Yerevan Aluminum Factory, were among those who participated in the [18 July] session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Having returned to their collectives, they told meetings that, in their opinion, strikes, even when aimed at the most justifiable goals, cannot be regarded as the correct method. They called on their comrades to prove through their work their devotion to the ideas of restructuring.

Strike To End 25 Jul

LD2107221188 Hamburg DPA in English 2137 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—The Armenians intend to call off their strike. At a rally in the Armenian capital, Yerevan, the 300,000 or so participants decided on Thursday evening to work again as of next Monday. The strike will still be continued on Friday. Soviet civil rights campaigner Sergey Grigoryants reported further to DPA on Thursday night that the Armenians made this decision in order "not to carry the confrontation with the Moscow leadership to extremes". However, they are still not prepared to give up the demand for integration into Armenia of the area of Nagorno-Karabakh, which is inhabited mostly by Armenians.

According to Grigoryants, there will be discussions at a new rally in the Armenian capital on Friday next week on further action. "The resistance of the people to the decision of the Supreme Soviet Presidium is unbroken", Grigroyants said. At the same time he expressed the concern that the dissatisfaction could escalate.

'Extremists' Arrested in Yerevan

LD2107180288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 21 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A group of extremists who were making bottles containing an incendiary mixture has been detained in Yerevan.

[Correspondent V. Gureyev, identified by screen caption] At about 2200, 30 champagne bottles containing a combustible mixture were found near 50, Lenin Avenue. They are now being examined by experts. Internal affairs bodies have detained Vartan Silikanyan and Martin Barsekyan. One of them is 20, the other 21. [video shows correspondent with the two men]

[Gureyev] A few questions for you, Vartan and you, Martin. Tell us, please, why did you think of making such bottles containing an incendiary mixture, if one can refer to them in that way?

[Silikanyan] Because there was a rumor in the town yesterday that troops would be coming into the town.

[Gureyev] What? Did it really look as though there were, so to speak, preparations for bringing troops into the town? You had the impression that troops would be brought in? Were there any outward signs of that?

[Silikanyan] No, we didn't want there to be any repetition of a second Yerevan airport. We can't say....

[Barsekyan, interrupting] For insurance, you see.

[Silikanyan] We can't say anything, anything more. That's all.

Karabakh Committee Activities

PM2207120088 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Unnamed TASS correspondent report: "The People Will Not Follow Them"]

[Text] Yerevan—Since 18 July more and more enterprises in Yerevan and throughout Armenia have begun to work at their normal pace. On the 1st day of the week the workers at the main enterprise of the "Armelektrodvigatel" production association produced output worth more than R150,000. The association's party committee has set up a headquarters for the elimination of the holdup, and tightened-up work schedules are being drawn up. In this quarter the collective wants to make up lost ground and fulfill all contract deliveries.

Those who were not working or were not working to full capacity have gone back to work in Kirovakan, too. Production plans are beginning to be fulfilled at the

"Prompribor" and "Avtomatika" science-and-production associations, the "Kirovakanavtogenmash" production association, and the furniture association.

Working people have turned up for work at Leninakan's enterprises. Secretaries of party raykoms, bureau members, and activists met with collectives and carried out explanatory work in connection with the situation that has arisen in the republic. And people agreed that democracy and glasnost, which are becoming part of our lives, should not turn into anarchy, which is what the actions of the so-called "Karabakh" Committee led to.

The time has come to name those who pushed their own people into the abyss, who kindled national discord, who tried to provide cover, at the price of their own dishonor, for dealers in the "black economy" and clans of careerists and bribe-takers. These are their names: Ashot Manucharyan, director of studies at Secondary School No 183; Samson Kazaryan, teacher at the same school; Ambartsum Galstyan, staffer of the Yerevan City Soviet sociological research laboratory; Rafael Kazaryan, corresponding member of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences; Vano Siradegyan, member of the Armenian Writers' Union; Levon Ter-Petrosyan, doctor of philological sciences; Samvel Gevorkyan, commentator on republican television; Aleksan Akopyan, staffer of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies; Vazgen Manukyan, teacher at Yerevan University; Babken Araktsyan, faculty chief at Yerevan University; David Vardanyan, senior scientific staffer of a sector solids laboratory; and Igor Muradyan, senior scientific staffer at the Armenian SSR Gosplan Scientific Research Institute of Economics and Planning Coordination Department.

On the face of it, they are all intelligent, educated people. But that is only on the face of it. In reality they are national philistines, intellectuals without convictions, political adventurers hoping to make a career of provocations and blackmail.

Harsh words? But let us read what they have said, what they have called for.

Vano Siradegyan: "Look at the results of nomenklatura gangsterism, which has dominated the country for 70 years, and of great-Russian stupidity. This is not only a tragedy for our country, it is a tragedy for the whole world" (from a speech at a rally on 16 July).

Levon Ter-Petrosyan: "Our struggle will go on indefinitely, until victory.... Today our weapon is the strike, that means struggle, struggle, struggle" (from a speech at a 3 July rally).

Ashot Manucharyan: "Meetings should be held on 18 July to elect new members of councils of labor collectives and trade union committees. Even if the raykom secretary or enterprise director do not permit such meetings to be held, all the same the meetings must be held without fail" (from a speech at a 17 July rally).

To applause from the committee members, Khachik Safaryan, who has a conviction for anti-Soviet activity, declared at one rally: "This is our common struggle, and everyone should take part as ordinary soldiers, and the good soldiers are those who know how to serve well and obey only the 'Karabakh' Committee."

Provocateurs who might have nothing to do with the "Karabakh" Committee organizationally, using modern duplicating equipment, disseminated a pamphlet compiled by the Dashnaks [Armenian nationalists] back in the twenties. You cannot read it without feeling angry and disgusted. It includes these words: "...May the Russian-Jewish-Turkish-Tatar bloc drown in our blood...."

Pamphlets were not the end of it. During a rally on 18 July in the region of Matenadaran Square two citizens were arrested—Vartan Silikanyan, born 1966, Komsomol member, driver for the Scientific Research Institute of Rocks and Silicates, and Martin Barsekyan, born 1967, Komsomol member, temporarily not working. Thirty-five bottles of flammable liquid were confiscated from them, and at their homes the containers where the flammable liquid was stored were found.

The economic council set up under the "Karabakh" Committee carefully sought out the most vulnerable points in the economy of the republic and the country. And this was at a time when the party and government are working steadfastly to ensure that all Soviet people feel real results of restructuring as quickly as possible. "We know where to hit," the committee boasted in one of its pamphlets, and as we can see, the blows were indeed painful. For more than 10 days the republican maternity hospital received no medical oxygen. The oxygen plant collective was on strike, and A. Markaryan, chief of the anesthesiology department, could not prepare for an urgent operation.

On 5 July, under the influence of the committee's calls, a group of provocateurs infiltrated the shops of the Zangezurskiy Copper and Molybdenum Combine, demanding that the miners stop work. Referring demagogically to the interests of all Armenians, they lied that the republic had already stopped working, and some people faltered and ceased work. Only when the Communists and engineering and technical personnel set a real example of patriotism did they think better of it and turn up for their shift.

The irresponsible calls of the "Karabakh" Committee did tremendous damage to working people throughout the republic. In the period of the strikes in Armenia the shortfall in output was approximately R70 million. That is only the direct losses. Apart from that, the population of Yerevan failed to receive some 400 apartments, 300 school places, 200 kindergarten places, and 150 hospital beds. Each day of strikes led to the loss of 32 apartments, the equivalent of a 9-floor block. And this at a time when

the Armenian capital has 150,000 people urgently needing apartments. In addition, every striker could lose some R100-150 in wages, since Article 101 of the Armenian SSR Code of Labor Laws declares that stoppages through the worker's fault do not qualify for pay.

But even that is not all. Article 56 of the Fundamentals of Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics provides that irrespective of the application of disciplinary and social penalties, the following measures may also be adopted with regard to violators of labor discipline: deprivation of bonuses and awards for the year's results, nonallocation of concessionary passes for sanatoriums and leisure centers, loss of a place on the housing waiting list, and postponement or even cutting of annual leave.

In these hot July days hundreds of telegrams are arriving in the republic from various parts of the country, in which enterprise collectives simply implore them not to disrupt deliveries and to speed up the dispatch of subassemblies. Each of them is hopeful—"we are waiting and waiting." After all, a single diode costing a matter of kopeks which is not produced on time in Armenia can mean losses amounting to millions for an enterprise elsewhere. As a result losses across the country already total several hundred million rubles.

While speaking in the name of the people, the "Karabakh" Committee ignores the problems of specific individuals with their difficult daily concerns, and yet it loudly proclaims itself to be the "nation's conscience." This small group of demagogues, under cover of the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh, is trying to fulfill its own self-seeking tasks. But who will answer for the economic damange done to the republic and the whole country? And how can one measure the moral losses the Armenian people have suffered through the fault of the provocateurs from the "Karabakh" Committee?

Why provocateurs? Because these people, while taking the workers away from their machine tools and plunging the republic into economic chaos, have sustained no damage themselves. While mainly concerned with the committee's affairs, its members received their wages regularly from their main place of work. And substantial wages at that. R. Kazaryan, for instance, received some R800 a month, B. Araktsyan and L. Ter-Petrosyan R400 each, and A. Manucharyan R340. They also enjoyed all the other social benefits guaranteed by the USSR Constitution.

But where were the "Karabakh" Committee members, who constantly demand human rights, when hooligans spurred on by their irresponsible slogans were throwing stones at an elderly excavator operator who had summoned up the courage to resist the strike call and turn up to lay a road that 15,000 inhabitants of Yerevan's Mashtotskiy Rayon are waiting for?

Because of the strike, old people and children living in a building in the capital's 15th District were without water for 5 days in temperatures of 40 degrees. A broken pump could not be repaired. The inhabitants of 20 more apartment blocks in Yerevan were in the same situation.

All these instances show that the people on the "Karabakh" Committee have no concern at all for people's socioeconomic well-being. Their main task is to seize power through the destabilization of Armenia's economy and public life. Taking advantage of the fact that the former Armenian Communist Party Central Committee leadership lost the initiative and gave ground step by step, the committee members created ramified organizational and political structures. "Karabakh" branches exist in virtually every enterprise, institution, and educational establishment, in a number of cases crushing the party organizations, councils of labor collectives, and administration.

They succeeded to a significant degree in paralyzing the activity of the republic's law enforcement organs. That led to an increase in the number of unlawful actions with regard to workers on public transport or at enterprises that did not obey the strike call. The strange passivity of those whose duty it is to watch over the law was also expressed in the fact that after the beating up of a party worker at a rally, dozens of Yerevan militiamen who were questioned could not "remember" who had beaten him.

The toleration of the local law enforcement organs reached its height with the occupation of "Zvartnots" Airport. Not meeting any particular obstacles from them, a group of aggressively inclined young people made the personnel stop work, thereby flouting their right to work. The "guardians of the law" only became active when they started looking for witnesses that the servicemen who were forced to go there to ensure the normal functioning of the airport, which, moreover, is of defense importance too, had "exceeded their powers."

Incidentally, arresting the most active initiators of this action and confiscating weapons fell to the lot of the all-union public order organs. The USSR Prosecutor's Office arrested one of the most active participants in the occupation of the airport, A. Pogosyan. Firearms were confiscated from others who were arrested. Gevoyan Albrik Khachikovich, born 1951, out of work, was arrested. He incited the "Zvartnots" Airport workers to strike, played an active part in group actions that disrupted the normal operation of air transport and grossly violated citizens' rights, and failed to obey representatives of the authorities.

The investigation is now continuing. In view of the particular dangers of the storage of combat weapons, the investigation is being carried out by the USSR Prosecutor's Office.

Obsessed with the idea of seizing power in the republic, the committee members call on the people of Armenia to make use of the forthcoming report-and-election campaign to replace party organization secretaries with "their" people, and demand the expulsion of soviet, economic, trade union, and Komsomol leaders who "have not justified 'Karabakh's' trust."

Malicious slander is increasingly common at the rallies. Ter-Petrosyan, for instance, went so far as to say that Moscow organized the occupation of "Zvartnots." These supposedly educated people do not shrink even from links with criminals to achieve their goals. At a rally at Matenadaran the committee gave the microphone to a certain G. Kocheryan. He expatiated on democracy and the nation's interests. But the person speaking of these sacred things was a man who had carried out a savage attack, excaped from prison, and after ser ing his sentence again perpetrated an act of hooliganism and was recently sentenced to corrective labor. A vile new action has now been undertaken—they are demanding that the young people of Armenia hand in their Komsomol cards. But not everyone has yielded to the latest provocation. Even those who showed weakness at first are beginning to think better of it. A group of young people went to the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee the other day and asked to be given their cards back.

Any call for reason and calm in the present complex situation is viewed with irritation by "Karabakh." At a rally organized by the committee, cynical racist insults were hurled at IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Kazikhanov. And the chairman of the republican Writers' Union was referred to in passing as a "young ignoramus." A malicious rumor is circulating to the effect that after his impassioned speech on republican television, Vazgen I, catholicos of all the Armenians, died.

The committee is making more and more use of the method of "borrowed slogans." Under cover of these, they try to strike a blow against the very nerve centers of the complex reconstruction of our society, thereby discrediting the concepts of glasnost and democratization. But democratization, as was stressed at the 19th party conference, is by no means the same as permissiveness. And that is what the leaders of "Karabakh" are trying to secure for themselves. They make use of glasnost for this purpose too.

The committee's activity does enormous damage to the interests of the Armenian people and the whole of Soviet society.

The question naturally arises, how can "Karabakh" continue its outrages to this day, when its activity was stopped by a resolution of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium back in March? Why is it granted a privileged status by those who are invested with power?

If anyone had any doubt as to the political complexion of the committee members, all illusions were dispelled after the 20 July rally. Here the members of the "Karabakh" Committee came out in an intolerable form against a resolution of the country's supreme organ of power—the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The republic is going through difficult times. But although the provocateurs have managed to lead many people astray, the talented and industrious Armenian people, that internationalist people, will never follow them.

Even at the height of the strikes there were many collectives that did not give way to the irresponsible demand to stop work. Even when there were calls to throw stones at the soldiers, in many Armenian homes there were kind words for them, a cup of cold water, and a slice of hot cake.

The friendship of the whole country's peoples is the great gain of October. And nobody can shake it. Only together, shoulder to shoulder, can we pass through all the difficulties of the revolutionary restructuring of society.

People may make mistakes, fail to grasp the situation. But now that the only correct decision in the circumstances has been adopted through collective efforts, it is everyone's civic duty to review his positions and get down to work. And it is now the duty of every honest person to resolutely expose and cut short the attempts of the self-styled "leaders" to deflect us from the path mapped out by the party and supported by all the country's peoples.

Armenians Cited on Debate

PM2207102588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jul 88 Second Edition p 8

[Report by special correspondent G. Ovcharenko: "Checking Against Reason"]

[Text] Armenian SSR— Yerevan [subhead]

In Yerevan and other Armenian cities now newspapers are bought up in just minutes. People are discussing with interest the materials of the USSR Supreme Soviet session which examined the question of the decisions of the Armenian SSR and Azerbaijan SSR supreme soviets on Nagorno-Karabakh. People's opinions are frankly varied.

The meetings in collectives where the Armenian envoys who attended the Moscow session are speaking are taking place in a particularly heated and constructive manner. For instance, the workers of the "Elektropribor" association grew quiet and became pensive when their comrade Elmir Arutyunyan, leader of a team of tool makers and a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, pointed out that the strikes are discrediting the honor of the Armenian workers in the eyes of the entire Soviet people.

In the republican newspaper KOMMUNIST labor and war veteran Ts. Martirosyan, F. Khachatryan, a seamstress from Tumanyanskiy Rayon, R. Oganyan, general director of the Yerevan knitwear and glove association, and others expressed themselves in support of the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution.

The previous evening at a meeting near the Matenadaran institute, in which about 100,000 people took part, the floor was given to writer V. Petrosyan, G. Sarkisyan, member of the republic's academy of sciences, the poetess S. Kaputikyan, and others. They also as a whole approved the decisions made in Moscow on Nagorno-Karabakh. However, it cannot be said that those gathered near the Matenadaran institute were unanimous in their assessments. Moreover, sensible speeches calling for constructive labor and giving an objective assessment of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution caused anger and protests among some of those present.

"I can explain this by the fact that the people at the meetings are being excited by extremist elements and the microphone is given above all to those who will not accept compromise solutions, those who need confrontation on any pretext and the aggravation of the already tense situation," says Doctor of Juridical Sciences V. Nazaryan, chief of the Yerevan State University's department of state, administrative, and international law. "But there is one further reason: People have not yet understood the gist of the resolution, have not looked into it. And the task of party and soviet workers and scientists is to make everyone aware that the decisions which have been taken are a model of an open [glasnyy] and responsible approach to a question of the utmost importance."

Unfortunately, the activists of the so-called "Karabakh" Committee remain deaf to such explanations. At the meeting yesterday they again called for strikes. But we must pay tribute to the Armenian working people: They are increasingly critical of such statements. Today, for instance, the troublemakers' calls were followed by the collectives of only three plants, which stopped work. Another three enterprises are working without a full workforce. At the other plants the working rhythm is normal and public transport is working precisely. People are increasingly inclining to the view that it is only by creative labor, only in an atmosphere of calm, that the problems can be resolved. Many people are openly expressing displeasure with the provocative activity of the "Karabakh" Committee. Characteristic in this respect was a letter sent to S. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, by Ashot Sarkisyan, chief control inspection specialist under the chairman of the republic's gosagroprom. Here is what he writes in particular:

"I am angered to the depths of my soul by the vigorous actions in Yerevan and other cities in the republic by the troublemakers from the so-called 'Karabakh' Committee. They are irresponsible people who are to blame for the fact that the situation in the republic has been heated to the limit and is fraught with the danger of explosive consequences. They are to blame for the tragedy which occured at 'Zvartnots' Airport.

"On 4 July 1988 after the latest meeting at which the activists of the 'Karabakh' Committee had once again heated passions to the limit, someone from the crowd shouted: 'Let's go block the airport.' But no one from the 'Karabakh' Committee wanted to prevent this action, or rather potential calamity, and now they claim they were against it. That is a lie, we were there, I and several people I know, and we tried to stop the crowd incited by the 'Karabakh' Committee. Unfortunately, we were cursed and nearly beaten up.

"This gang's gravest crime is that they led the people to strikes which are causing our country tremendous harm. And who gave them the right to slander our glorious armed forces—the Soviet Army—and the Russian people? Have they forgotten 1915, when, thanks to the Russian army, our nation was successfully preserved and have they forgotten that it was thanks to the Great October that the creation and flowering of Soviet Armenia became possible? I believe it is essential that the relevant services should immediately halt the activity of this 'Karabakh' Committee. It will be to the benefit of the Armenian people. There have been enough casualties, enough suffering."

I think comment is superfluous.

And here is a true example of internationalism. As PRAVDA reported yesterday, through the fault of the Sumgait suppliers an enterprise in the rayon named for Kamo cannot fulfill its contract deliveries. Today your corresponded received a telephone call from O. Zargaryan, first secretary of the Kamo Armenian Communist Party Raykom, who said that G. Seidov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, and Sh. Fazaliyev, chief of a department of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, had already liaised with him. Despite the objective difficulties, they took prompt measures and literally tomorrow raw material for the enterprise, which produces condensers, will be sent by truck from Sumgait to Kamo Rayon.

Azerbaijani Workers Cited

PM2207111188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jul 88 Second Edition p 8

[Report by correspondent Z. Kadymbekov: "In One Family in a Common Home"]

[Text] Azerbaijan SSR—Baku [subhead]

One of our main tasks today is the unconditional and complete fulfillment of the party and government resolution on the socioeconomic development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, the restoration

of a normal working rhythm there, and the resurrection of internationalist, friendly ties between two neighboring peoples and fraternal republics—Azerbaijan and Armenia.

This idea was central to the speech delivered by A.Kh. Vezirov at a meeting of the city's party and economic aktiv and it is shared by the participants in meetings at Baku enterprises' labor collectives.

A workers' meeting had just ended at Baku's No 1 footwear factory.

"People are unanimous," G. Ismaylov, director of the enterprise, says, "that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue passed on a constitutional basis defines the only correct way of settling the conflict. We must now all pool our efforts to implement restructuring, proceeding from the interests of the entire state and all the people."

Those who spoke at the meeting mentioned their responsibility to future generations and the need to restore trust in each other. We must seek paths that unite people, not paths that take them in different directions. The story of the Baku commune and its glorious commissars is an example to us. The words of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the effect that our party, revolution, and country are international and that we must seek to ensure that all families in our house live in a friendly manner irrespective of nationality are addressed to every heart.

G. Aliyev, secretary of the factory's party organization, mentioned the close friendly ties with its kindred enterprise in Stepanakert. He himself worked there for 6 months during the start-up and adjustment work and helped the Stepanakert shoemakers to master their profession and many of them have done stints at the Baku factory. People here speak with great sympathy of Serzh Gazaryan, the chief engineer at the Stepanakert factory, an intelligent specialist and a fine man. They are perplexed as to how working people can lock up a factory—did their hands not yearn to work? Is it not time to set to work? After all, the damage caused to the state is growing with every passing day?

"A correct assessment of the meetings, demonstrations, and strikes was given at the Presidium session," B. Ratevosyan, the factory's chief power engineer, joins in the talk. "It is absolutely accurate that the democratic rights and new conditions that restructuring has created are being used for blatantly antidemocratic purposes. I am an Armenian, there are over 500 of my fellow Armenians working at our factory and I know precisely that the majority approve the fair decision made by the Presidium of the country's Supreme Soviet. We must make strictly answerable those who have plunged our friendship into the whirlpool of reprisals, those who have brought the people out onto the streets, those who have used threats and blackmail to cut off their way to the plant entrances. No one can impede my friendship with the Azerbaijanis."

Similar meetings have been held recently at 1,400 enterprises in Baku, some 180,000 people took part, and over 7,000 spoke. The working people of other cities and rayons in the republic unanimously express full support for the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution. At the meetings appeals are being heard to the workers of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast to get to work as soon as possible. But the strike in Stepanakert is continuing. Only the food stores are open and only individual enterprises—the meat and dairy combines and bakery—and the health institutions are operating.

After a conference at the party obkom which discussed and outlined measures to normalize the working rhythm and explain the resolution among the masses, the obkom workers went to the enterprises. The labor collective council has been in session at the Karabakh silk combine and meetings have been held at several of the city's enterprises. Time will tell what decisions were made.

Presidium Debate on Nagorno-Karabakh Viewed

PM2007162788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by R. Lynev: "Seeking Consensus; Notes on the Basis of the Shorthand Report of the 18 July USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session"]

[Text] This Supreme Soviet Presidium session was notable in all respects, people who know confirm. Above all it was the first since the 19th party conference and was unprecedented in terms of the acuteness of the question raised, in terms of its importance, and in terms of its consequences.

Indeed, who could have thought just 6 months ago that the fate of a small autonomous oblast of the Transcaucasus—the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—could become such a serious test for restructuring? Who expected that during the test the first, main question—that of the autonomous oblast's status—would entail what are to be frank new questions for us all, questions like the mass strikes in Yerevan and Stepanakert, the eruption of violence, and the introduction of emergency measures in Sumgait; the press' unpreparedness to find the correct tone with regard to what was happening, the inability of the local party and soviet leadership together with its entire apparatus to control the course of events and their inability to conduct an open dialogue with the people; and the main thing—the split in relations between neighboring peoples, the loss of trust in each other.

This entire complex package of questions, each of which was difficult, was submitted to the Presidium, which sat for 8 hours and heard over 30 speeches shedding light on

the problem from the most diverse viewpoints—both traditional and unaccustomed for many of us. A proportion of some speeches—and they were all published either fully or in precise form in the previous issue of the newspaper—was diametrically opposed to others. This difference coincided with two recently adopted and mutually exclusive decisions: One was the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet decision to satisfy the petition from the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies session for the oblast to be transferred from Azerbaijan to Armenia and the other was the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet's decision on the illegality of this way of asking the question.

The same difference of approach is to be found in the hundreds and hundreds of letters, including collective letters, which have arrived at IZVESTIYA in recent months and weeks from Azerbaijan and Armenia, in meetings with people from the two republics, and in telephone calls each of which stated as an ultimatum that we should cover the events only as our interlocutors see them or else... we have heard the most diverse threats. Some of them have been carried out: Some subscribers in Yerevan have rejected the central newspapers—as a sign of protest against a view of things that differs from their own. Such is the heat of passions. And the Supreme Soviet Presidium session reflected that heat and the complexity and perturbation of the situation around the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and its explosiveness. "A mine under restructuring" was what the session called this situation.

Let's be frank: It is impossible to brush aside the arguments presented by the envoys from Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. They include the memory of a people who were the victims of genocide in 1915; the contradictory nature of the decisions about Karabakh in the twenties and the denunciation of the former leadership of Azerbaijan and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast who had offended the majority Armenian population of the autonomous oblast. There was also the tragedy of Sumgait and the delay in examining in court the cases of those to blame for the tragedy—all this introduced to the conflict and the discussion an unrepeatable emotional tone which only a deaf person could have failed to hear.

There is only one way, the Armenian envoys insisted—resolving the question of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast's transfer to their republic. Only this can restore the burned bridges of trust, they argued.

We do not reproduce here literally everything that was said from the rostrum and in the intermissions, when heated discussions flared up in the foyer of the chambers' hall of sessions, but only its purport. But it was precisely in terms of their purport that trust and friendship were not always in their customary first place. Most often they figured in the capacity of a kind of reservation or formality. And that was the saddest thing. Why?

Because in putting forward a whole list of demands on their neighbors, some comrades spoke of the rights, interests, and dignity of only one side. Their own. It was as though the other side did not exist in their arguments. Or else it was brought in only as an indictment—on the historical plane and all other planes, which is factually inaccurate and morally wrong and wrong in tone. It was as though relations were being clarified not between old neighbors who have been through it all, as they say, but with an enemy.

It is clear that this is a bad basis for mutual understanding. And if it can generate anything in response then it is only a retaliatory impatience of which there is also more than enough "on the other side" and it was taken to the point of absolutely absurd arguments, like eliminating the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast altogether. Or creating Azerbaijani autonomy within Armenia to spit it.

It is clear that this method of "hand to hand combat" is unacceptable for the solution of such complex questions. It is clear that attempts to achieve "victory" for one people over the other in such conflicts lead only to an impasse and sow discord and enmity. Indeed even the central authorities, in this case the Supreme Soviet Presidium, is being driven to the wall, as it were: Since you are the central authority, it is being told, take full responsibility for our implacability or else we will not be answerable for the consequences.

Political parasitism—that is what this approach is redolent of. And even the compromise version which was proposed by several speakers essentially leads to the temporary handing over of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast to some "presidential," that is, again, central, Moscow rule. But this is, first, not envisaged by the constitution and, second, for all its seemingly democratic nature, in fact presupposes not a democratic but an administrative and bureaucratic solution.

But now about the facts that were extremely awkward to mention, but had to be mentioned. The question of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast could have been resolved far more peacefully and far earlier but the trouble is that this question was of no interest to the former leaders of the two republics. And indeed in general it is hard to say where their interests converged if the leaders simply did not meet for 15 years (!). How could it fail to be an example to their subordinates? And it worked. It was followed by those below them. Social scientists and historians were no exception, being reluctant to hear or see "the other side." What agreement could thus be reached? In February, knowing of the dangerously mounting events on the border between two rayons, Askeranskiy Rayon (the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast), and Agdamskiy Rayon (Azerbaijan), the two secretaries of the neighboring raykoms,

an Armenian and an Azerbaijani, could not actually decide who should be the first to telephone, the first to come so that they could act together to prevent fratricidal clashes.

The new leadership of the two republics in the shape of the two first secretaries, S. Arutyunyan and A. Vezirov, met in the first days after they took up office. They discussed the situation and outlined measures to normalize it. It is a hopeful sign that their positions and assessments of events and of ways out of the crisis coincide.

What are the reasons for the crisis? They lie in the fact that both the Armenian and the Azerbaijani peoples had for a number of years been robbed by groups of people who had seized hold of trade and other lucrative spheres. Having grown rich during the stagnation period, they were reluctant to part either with the power they had usurped or with what they had plundered. And seeing that restructuring would unfailingly deprive them of these things, they gave battle in return, directing the fully developed anger of the Azerbaijanis and Armenians to one side, into the Karabakh channel. The louder the noise around Karabakh, the more it was to their advantage—the law would not reach them.

Ordinary people have written—and there are many such letters in the editorial office (and obviously not only our editorial office)—that they have grown tired of the strikes and uncertainty. But under the influence of blackmail and threats they have been obliged to continue striking. What are they living on while they do this! How are they feeding their families? What can they say to the thousands of subcontractors in other republics, dooming them to stoppages and losses? Yet calls have already been heard saying: "We will bring the loss caused by the strikes up to R1 billion!", "Let's spread the strike worldwide!" Leaflets accusing Moscow of fueling hostility between Armenians and Azerbaijanis have been distributed. Who stands to gain from this? Surely questions could not be resolved calmly and soberly in this heated situation? Of course they could not!

However great the economic harm inflicted on the national economy by the strikers, the moral harm is nonetheless more tangible: the attempt to sow distrust in restructuring, in socialism's ability to resolve problems of inter-nation [mezhnatsionalnyye] relations correctly.

Those who took part in the session also drew attention to the following inconsistency in the position of the champions of "the revision of borders." Only quite recently they were ardently asserting that only the transfer of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast from Azerbaijan to Armenia would resolve all the oblast's problems. But here's a strange thing: After the party Central Committee and government had adopted, in March, a program for the development of Nagorno-Karabakh, some people in Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast began to persuade people that the program was only distracting them from the main issue of the status of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. What in this case was the question of status? A means or an end? Or an end in itself?

So far the new party leaders of the two republics have succeeded in doing only a little, too little, to create the most necessary condition for normalizing the situation—the establishment of direct contacts at republican and other levels to seek mutual consensus. Under these conditions, the session stated, the role of the two republics' intelligentsia is growing more than ever. Nor have the working class and the Communists, for whom the time has come to act, yet had their say.

A paradox to which many of the speakers drew attention is that there are problems of, for instance, the conservation of peace on earth and of disarmament, which force us to find a common language even with those with whom this seemed only yesterday to be out of the question. What then is preventing those who have common fundamental interests, common aims, and a common destiny from finding a common language?

How the question was resolved at the session was dictated by the USSR Constitution now operating, by the union republics' constitutions, and by the present-day realities which it is senseless and impossible to ignore. This decision seems both justified and plausible. Commissions and groups of responsible workers from the center and deputies will go to the areas. They will study and examine specific issues. As a whole the decision—and no one objected to it—is in the spirit of the resolutions of the 19th party conference. People have tried to apply its recommendations in practice to the question of the fate of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. A far from individual question. The conclusions from its discussion are all the more important for that. It looks as though we must keep them very firmly in mind.

Armenian Activists in Moscow Criticized

PM2007145188 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jul 88 p 4

[Yu. Shabanov report: "When Will Insight Arrive? Moscow Passions Surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh"]

[Text] "Hurry up, there are Armenians sitting on the sidewalk...."

The two youths rushed to join the crowd gathered on the corner of Kalinin Prospekt and Vorovskiy Street. Rubberneckers arrived. Standing on tiptoe and trying to get as close as possible, they gazed at the men and women sitting on the asphalt. The "sit-down protest rally" incited by K. Nagapetyan, V. Ogandzhanyan, and M. Shamirov, the leaders of Moscow's so-called Armenian public committee, started around 1800 hours on 10 July.

Actually events had been under way since 1300, when around 400 Muscovites and visiting Armenians gathered outside the church at the Armenian Cemetery. Similar gatherings, as is well known, have become more frequent since spring this year—or rather since early March, after the well-known events in Sumgait. Initially, they were quite peaceful. Referring not without reason to the meager information in the press and on television about the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and the consequences of the Sumgait tragedy, Moscow residents of Armenian nationality obtained additional information there. The city authorities did not impede the meetings, realizing that this interest was real.

However, the news reports soon started to take on excessively emotional tones. No, it is not a question of the demand by Moscow's Armenians to transfer the NKAO to Armenia. Everyone has a right to state their viewpoint on certain events—publicly or in private conversation. And the current atmosphere of democracy and glasnost promotes this. What is worrying is that these demands are increasingly often accompanied by provocative nationalist shouts, slanderous attacks on party, soviet, and law enforcement organs, and calls for illegal actions.

For instance, the abuse directed against Azerbaijanis by K. Nagapetyan, member of the USSR Artists Union, hardly enhances his standing. And how does the warcry of lawyer M. Shamirov not to obey the militia and to continue the "sit-down strike" to a "victorious conclusion" sound from the standpoint of the law, which he is supposed to uphold? And is not the future teacher K. Saakyan, who at one and the same time denounces brakes on restructuring and calls on all Moscow's Armenians to abandon production and demonstrate on workdays, instructing schoolchildren in hypocrisy? And what lesson of honesty and justice, for which machine operator A. Mirzoyan continually campaigns, is taught by his dishonest actions? Before me is a confession signed in his own hand to workers of the Dzerzhinskiy Rayon Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Department. He confesses that he was led astray when, together with bus driver A. Moys, he fooled 40 or more out-of-towners, fleecing them for an "unofficial" tour of Moscow and pocketing R129, R3 from each.

But what are those unfortunate bills compared with moral deception of one's fellow citizens, who are given the idea that the NKAO is occupied (as is well known, troops have been sent there since the spring to maintain order, and there has not been a single incident between servicemen and local inhabitants) or that there have been mass murders of Armenians in Baku! Let me note right away that one person—an Azerbaijani militiaman—has indeed been killed there. And even though not many people were deceived—there are more than 40,000 Armenians living in Moscow and only hundreds of them attend the rallies—the very fact that there is purposeful massive pressure on their hearts and minds makes us seriously think about where these "shadow" leaders are leading people. They are "shadow" because they do not want to acknowledge their leadership, aware of liability for illegal actions. I saw K. Nagapetyan stroll by near the rally in Pushkinskaya Square, pretending that he was there by chance. But when he saw that those present were starting to overstep the bounds of the permissible, he immediately whispered to somebody, nudged someone else, and the crowd dispersed in an instant.

For all his posturing as an "ordinary" speaker on behalf of the Armenian intelligentsia, Nagapetyan is no mean orator. And, it has to be said, he knows how to whip up passions. But what I wondered was: Is it possible to achieve the desired result—that is, a just settlement of the NKAO problem in the interests of the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples and of the Soviet people as a whole—by whipping up hysteria about it? And are the "shadow" leaders concerned about this result? While calling for democracy, they flout it. While talking about Armenians' national dignity, they trample another nation's dignity underfoot.

A homespun poet read out verses about the Sumgait tragedy at the Armenian Cemetery. Melancholy tugged at the heartstrings from the very first lines. Tears welled up in the Armenians' eyes. In late March, I saw similar eyes in Stepanakert when I stood bareheaded among the inhabitants at the unveiling of a monument to the victims of the bandit attack. Their pain was my pain and the pain of the entire Soviet people. And together with them, I angrily condemned those who had carried out this act of vandalism. I will never forget my meeting in Sumgait with the elderly Armenian A. Beglaryan and her tale of how she and her neighbors spent 14 hours in a flooded cellar to escape from the rampaging hooligans. Nor will I forget the young Azerbaijani woman present during our conversation, who covered her face with her hands to hide her shame.

But it is also true that during the tragedy, Azerbaijani workers from Sumgait's enterprises hid Armenians in their shops and homes and protected them, and Azerbaijani militiamen repeatedly plunged into the crazed mob to wrest another victim from its clutches.

So why did the poet reading the verses at the Armenian Cemetery abandon his tragic note, screw up his eyes to tell a heartrending tale about the universal sharpening of knives in Azerbaijan for use against Armenians, and call for revenge, using obscenities in his rhymes? Clearly, someone was guiding his pen to incite others to rise up against their neighbors and brothers. After these appeals, the young Armenians' eyes were bloodshot and their fists clenched.

Exactly the same heated atmosphere was created during the "sit-down protest rally" on Kalinin Prospekt. Nagapetyan spoke and shouted. Shamirov rose—the shouting became almost hysterical. And nobody could hear anything. That is, you could only hear yourself. Major

General Yu. Tomashev of the internal service, first deputy chief of the State International Affairs Administration, tried to reason with them, but they couldn't care less. But his words were reasonable:

"You quote cases, but they require proof. So let us check them...."

He repeated it a second and third time, and only then did Nagapetyan deign to descend from the heights of his eloquence to attack his opponent:

"What is there to check! We have all the documents...."

And he put his hand in his pocket. But pulled nothing out.

"Just think about what these hotheads are calling on you to do," the general continued to reason.

"We're all hotheads," was the reply.

Eloquent, isn't it! But, nonetheless, I think that not everyone was hotheaded. It was the same old people speaking. Some people were listening, others whispering to each other, and others were showing off to bystanders as if to say: Look at us.

But what was that? One of the speakers shouted, and the smiles were wiped off people's faces. The crowd that had been on the point of dispersing rushed over to a militia bus, pushing passers-by aside and running across the street, making cars screech to a halt. Incidentally, two cars crashed not so long ago directly because of Armenian demonstrators breaking traffic regulations. So, then the incensed crowd surrounded the bus, threw various objects inside, and started rocking it. They only calmed down when a white-haired man with a beard got out. Well, well, it was none but F. Shelov-Kovedyayev, one of the so-called defenders of justice, who had just been addressing the Armenian rally and inciting those present to act illegally.

This was by no means a chance occurrence. It is not hard to note that in general, members of certain groupings renowned for their antisocialist views—including Novodvorskaya, Mukhamedyarov, and Zhirinovskiy from the "Democratic Union"—have recently started gathering in places where some provocation is being prepared and anywhere where "true fighters for democracy" can score points by exploiting discontent and lack of awareness. As have their supporters, demagogically hiding behind pseudo-restructuring slogans. A consolidation of forces, so to speak, is under way. For the sake of this "noble" aim, they make no bones about directly juggling the facts or playing on national feelings. The same Shelov-Kovedyayev at the height of the rally confusingly started spinning a yarn about a deal in the twenties between Turkey and the Bolsheviks. The latter allegedly agreed to sell Nagorno-Karabakh to Azerbaijan in "return" for a Turkish revolution.

I also heard a speech by Zhirinovskiy calling for the entire personnel of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's law enforcement organs to be replaced and for Russia to be "awakened with blood." True, the committee organizers—clearly scared of losing their leadership—immediately dissociated themselves from the bloodthirsty ways of this latter-day "defender" of the Armenian people, but, nonetheless, his short speech cannot escape attention, nor should his words be seen as personal whim. They were a deliberate—or rather, malicious—attempt to impede at all costs the progress of restructuring in the country and sow distrust of the party and the Soviet Government.

Incidentally, are not these the aims being pursued by Nagapetyan and his entourage, who arrogate the right to speak on behalf of all Armenians and ignore all good sense? Who, you may well ask, gave them this right? I flicked through the notebooks and documents I brought with me from Stepanakert. Aha! There was protocol No 16 of 24 March this year. A session was under way of the now voluntarily disbanded "Krunk" society, whose leaders continue to play a major role in the autonomous oblast's life even after disbandment. Obviously realizing that they had gone too far in pressuring organs of power and aware of the pointlessness of strikes (even back in the spring, Nagorno-Karabakh's industrial enterprises were paralyzed, their debts to the state ran into millions of rubles, and the people—tired of endless rallies and demonstrations—had started turning away from the Krunk members), these leaders listened to the voice of reason. Though remaining firmly convinced that the NKAO should be transferred to Armenia, they started calling for calm and considered action and condemned their extremist wing for its strike tactics.

Now take a close look at the text of the aforesaid protocol. A. Manucharov, one of the "Krunk" organizers, said: "...We condemn the activity of the Moscow and Yerevan committees, which have ventured to speak on behalf of the Karabakh people. We resolutely dissociate ourselves from the irresponsible statements by the leaders of those committees, who have certainly damaged our just movement."

There you are. I have met and had long talks and arguments with Manucharov more than once, and I personally believe the sincerity of his statement, although I by no means share all aspects of the stance he has taken. And I do not believe, nor can I believe, the leaders of the so-called Armenian public committee in Moscow, whose irresponsible actions and appeals are only complicating the already complex situation around the NKAO and making the situation in the capital itself unpredictable. Which is something, incidentally, that Muscovites have been writing about, expressing their negative attitude toward the organizers of the noisy rallies. Today the crowd, egged on by the organizers of

the meetings, broke through the ranks of militiamen, scaring people in squares and avenues, and impeding transportation. And tomorrow...?

It is hard to say what will happen tomorrow if the crowd becomes uncontrollable. It would take just one spark to set off the "hotheads." And is it possible to blame the law enforcement organs, which will be forced to take corresponding measures? The blame lies, first and foremost, with the irresponsible leaders—Nagapetyan, Ogandzhanyan, and others—whom the prosecutor's office has already warned. But, clearly, they have not listened to good sense, if they are calling for confrontation.

...I have been reading the Armenian and Azerbaijani newspapers. Workers, scientists, writers, kolkhoz members, and party and soviet workers have been writing in them. Yes, opinions differ about the NKAO's future destiny, but there is one common idea: the need for patience and a desire to follow reason, listen to each other, conduct a dialogue, and soberly analyze reality. Not everyone in the two republics shares this opinion: The strikes and rallies continue. But one would like to think that they will be fewer and fewer. Just as one would like to believe that there will be more and more people among Moscow's Armenian community who will let reason prevail over their emotions.

Paper Comments on Recent Strikes Around Country
PM1907094188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[B. Lyubitskiy article under the "Extraordinary Situation" rubric: "Strike"]

[Text] I recall a report from Chernovtsy in May. On 10 May a number of trolleybuses failed to appear on the roads even though the vehicles were serviceable and the crews fully staffed.... In June there was a telegram from Volgograd: For 2 weeks a team of bus drivers from the No 1,732 Depot had not operated the route between the cities of Volzhskiy and Krasnoslobodsk.... And just the other day the telephone rang at 0600 at the PRAVDA correspondents' center in Kishinev: "The No 2 Bus Depot is not working! The collective is protesting the administration's actions...."

Until recently we were firmly convinced that the word "strike" was no longer current here. It is used where there are irreconcilable differences between labor and capital, between those who work and those who provide work. We have no such antagonisms here, we have a state of the working people themselves, and who would ever dream of striking against himself?

But let us think back 3 or 4 years. Triumphant speeches resounded from the rostrums while at the same time less and less housing was being commissioned and the people getting it were by no means those who really needed it. The slogan "The economy must be economical" was heard everywhere while unharvested grain rotted in the fields, uninstalled equipment rusted in the plants, and materials were stolen from construction sites. The newspapers were calling for an active life stance, but people with innovative ideas were finding it increasingly difficult to break the ice of indifference....

Then came the April icebreaker. Hopes were reborn, voices became more confident. The party congress produced a diagnosis of what had happened to the country and us all: the deformation of socialism. And it said clearly: The guarantee of the irreversibility of changes lies within us ourselves. There must be no silence, there must be glasnost. Not bureaucracy but democracy. Destroy and remove the braking mechanism—those who sincerely believed in restructuring could not fail to respond to that appeal. But how is it to be destroyed? For example, what incited the Volgograd drivers to their extreme actions?

"On numerous occasions—at meetings and sessions of the city soviet—our men said that it was impossible to drive the Volzhskiy-krasnoslobodsk route, we are just destroying the vehicles," team leader A. Shelukhin explained. "However many commissions are rattled and shaken over those potholes, nothing changes. So we decided to call a strike."

The result? Within a few days the asphalt, equipment, and people were found to do the job—and the road has been repaired. But another route, from Pristan to Krasnoslobodsk, is still impassable. And the "victorious" drivers are advising their colleagues: Do as we did—strike...

It may seem to some people that a foolproof method has really been found. They may even imagine that the asphalt used there wasn't needed elsewhere, that the equipment was standing idle, or that the roadbuilders had no other work to do. All this has happened in recent years. But suppose that was not the case? Suppose all this had had to be taken from other, perhaps more important, projects? During the years of stagnation quite a few of them accumulated in our country, but you cannot do everything at once.... Does that mean that they must be abandoned now because the people in those places are not resorting to "force"? How then will we balance the economy if we all "look out for number one"?

...By the entrance to the Kishinev No 2 Bus Depot a dense throng of drivers surrounded P. Shapa, deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, and V. Fomin, the minister of motor transport, who had arrived that morning. Gradually the demands became clear.

"It seems a sin to complain about the wages. But they are maintained only by large amounts of overtime!"

"They dreamed up a plan for us to sell season tickets and travel vouchers. What nonsense...."

"They introduced the team contract but in a topsy-turvy manner and without consulting us...."

"And there is no concern for consumer service conditions!"

The main demands were chosen from the large number submitted; some could be satisfied immediately while others needed a few days to clarify. It was also agreed that some of the enterprises' leaders should be reelected. In conversation with your PRAVDA correspondent V. Semenov, secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, admitted:

"Almost all of these problems could and should have been solved earlier."

Did the strike produce results here then? Let us consider. The buses were 5-7 hours late leaving the depot. This dealt a perceptible blow to the financial position of the enterprise, which is already unprofitable and subsidized by the state. Hundreds of people were late for work that morning and therefore the pace of work was upset there too. A good many women and children wasted their time standing at bus stops—they were planning to pick up their children from the kindergarten or day care. How many children went hungry that afternoon?

Yes, until that day N. Zelinskiy, director of the bus depot, V. Stevrya, the chief engineer, and staffers of administration departments had remained deaf to workers' opinions and businesslike suggestions. But why must the interests of one collective be defended at the expense of others? And instead of calling a specific culprit to account, why harm your work comrades, your families, your state, and ultimately yourself?

There is no doubt that in some leaders there persists a certain bureaucratic self-confidence and an irresponsible tendency not to be concerned for those in the "rear." The leadership made the appointment, so the leadership can rectify matters when necessary. It was customary for the state to settle their debts, and it often served as a screen behind which it was possible to hide from people's "inconvenient" questions. But times have changed now. The state cannot and must not answer for their broken promises, their technocratic shortsightedness, and incoherent planning. Instead it arms collectives themselves with reliable means of struggle for social justice. Those means are first and foremost economic accountability. They include the right to elect one's own leaders. They include the Law on the State Enterprise, which makes it possible to dispose of one's wages fund independently. Then there is the labor collective council, empowered to exercise self-management....

Not all these levers have been perfected yet, some of them still do not work properly. But who if not the working person is capable of fine-tuning the new mechanism? And as you fine-tune the mechanism you learn how to use it at the same time. Learn how to make use of all its potential.

...The trolleybus drivers in Chernovtsy demanded that the administration pay them for operating driver-only buses, as they are known, and pay them extra for selling tickets. An investigation revealed that such a payment is made only when the enterprise fulfills the plan, but in April it was not fulfilled. This procedure is envisaged by the collective contract, but the contract was adopted without broad discussion so that the collective was effectively left in ignorance.

It must be said that other problems had also built up at the enterprise. Drivers pointed to the lack of consumer service facilities at the depot, the lack of dispatcher posts, and the shortage of housing. It has taken 10 years so far to build a new trolleybus depot—and all that time they have had to shelter in a cramped old building. Half the vehicles are due to be scrapped but there is no replacement for them....

Yes, wherever you look, the country has a lot of problems today. An economy suffering from shortages is not suddenly going to be transformed into a harmonious and vital one. Indeed, we began restructuring not from a position of abundance but from one of stagnation! But when a strike leaves machinery, machine tools, and workers idle, this is not simply stagnation—it is paralysis. But you do not cure one disease with another, whether you are dealing with environmental problems, which are becoming increasingly acute, or problems between nationalities, which aren't new either. The vast majority of Soviet people understand that such problems will not disappear just by a wave of the hand—yours or someone else's. We must resolve them ourselves. But for that there must be not group hysteria but collective restraint and courage. And labor.

Here is a letter from Baku which arrived the other day. It was written by labor veteran Samvel Avetisovich Ayrapetyan. "I was born and raised in Nagorno-Karabakh. I worked there and became a CPSU member there. I am not indifferent to the fate of my fellow countrymen even though I live in Baku now. This is the first time that I have read in the newspapers that the oblast's workers are ignominiously wrecking the plans! And this in the year of the 65th anniversary of the formation of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast! Who will make up these losses for the state? Veterans, Communists, and Komsomol members—where are you now? Could our fathers and grandfathers have imagined that their children and grandchildren would incur such a debt to their brothers from the other republics? Are you not ashamed, my fellow countrymen? Is it possible to forget that the USSR is our common home, secured by the sweat and blood of the people? It is the duty of each of us to protect it and care for it."

The letterwriter is right: We and restructuring are having to pay too high a price for the strike fever. In Armenia alone in the period 4 through 15 July output worth R71 million was lost. This deals a dreadful blow to the country's economy, since these millions mean a shortage

of parts and subassemblies for dozens of enterprises. The losses here already amount to hundreds of millions. We have already paid a high price for idleness in previous years: Just recall, for example, the "smoke breaks" lasting hours, collective drinking bouts, absenteeism.... And all this was paid for out of the country's exchequer, all this resulted in empty store counters, new homes postponed for decades, a shortage of hospitals, schools, kindergartens, abandoned children without a home, and the loneliness of deserted old people.

Some people today are even ready to exploit this by putting forward a pay demand as a reason for a "strike." But where is the cash to come from? As every housewife knows, if you want bread you have to knead the dough. You can, of course, print as much money as you like, but how do you back it up if not by labor? In countries where strikes are in the order of things people well understand that the "hours of disobedience" are, as a rule, made up during days off. There are also sectors where strikes are limited or even (by decision of the trade union) prohibited if a work stoppage entails serious consequences for society.

It is, incidentally, time our trade unions faced up to reality and defined their position. We do not need strikes, since by striking we are robbing ourselves. The most acute problems must be resolved by democratic means. And workers' interests must be defended democratically. And yet it sometimes happens that a handful of loudmouths tries to get people to stop work who have never thought of doing so. And however strange it may appear, the voices of Communists are sometimes not heard here. And some join in this "chorus." Do they really believe they have exhausted all other means of defending the interests of the cause? Or have they simply grown flabby as political fighters, out of the habit of "working where the masses are," in accordance with V.I. Lenin's testament.

...Restructuring itself represents a very great task. Heaven forbid that our strength should waver here, particularly as there are some people with a direct interest in thwarting restructuring. For them the strengthening of the economy and the cleansing and democratization of our life pose a direct threat to their unearned income, serene calm, and prestigious but untaxing posts. But a direct attack on restructuring clearly holds no promise of success for them and is even dangerous. But compromising it along with glasnost and democracy and provoking, including via bureaucratic action, abuses and excesses might just work.

But we well remember that in the most difficult times of the revolution and of postrevolutionary work Lenin was invariably sure that conscious workers would not let themselves be duped or carried away by "revolutionary" phrasemongering. Strikes sometimes go to people's heads and get on nerves. But this is a fruitless impasse. Restructuring has been achieved by our people at too high a cost to settle for second-best. And if it is our difficult but happy lot to live in such a time, then truly we must face that difficulty and accept that happiness in a worthy fashion.

Riga Rally Marks Restoration of Soviet Power

PM2207115388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[PRAVDA correspondent O. Meshkov report: "Rally in Riga"]

[Text] Riga—A rally attended by many thousands of working people took place yesterday on the Komsomol Embankment in Riga. Workers from the republic's capital assembled on the anniversary of the restoration of Soviet power in Latvia in order to express ardent support for the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and reaffirm their desire to take an active part in restructuring.

The day before, many Rigans took part in a solemn ceremony to mark the reburial of prominent Latvian revolutionaries F. Rozin and A. Penness at the Bratskoye Cemetery. In 1921 Latvia's bourgeois government decided that their remains should be removed from this memorial place. Thus the bourgeoisie expressed its hatred of the revolutionary trensformations on Latvian soil. It proved possible to find the revolutionaries' graves, and the present reburial ceremony was an expression of profound respect for the memory of people who over many years fought for the people's happiness. The participants in the Komsomol Embankment rally also mentioned their desire to continue the work begun by their grandfathers and fathers. They were: A. Klautsen, first secretary of Riga party gorkom; Ya. Vagris, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium; V. Artmane, USSR people's artist; P. Chernetsov, radio mechanic at the "Elektrons" Production Association; Latvian Academy of Sciences Academician P. Stradyn; writer P. Bauga, a participant in the events of 1940; P. Chernovskiy, a member of the partisan movement on Latvian territory; and others. It is typical that signs of the times and of the democratization of our life were manifest in the course of the rally. The Priest V. Bitene and A. Ulme, chairman of the "Protection of the Environment" Club, addressed its participants from the rostrum.

The people of Riga stated at the rally that they support the party's course of restructuring, and they voiced their concern and alarm in connection with the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and their support for the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution on the normalization of the situation in this region.

'Truth' About Latvian Revolution Related

PM2107090588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jul 88 Second Edition p 6

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences E. Zhagar under the "Pages of History" rubric: "Created by the Revolution"—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Riga—July 21 is a special day in the Latvian people's life. It is the day of the foundation of the Latvian socialist republic. Soviet power was proclaimed at the same time in the neighboring republics of Lithuania and Estonia as well. Revolutionary transformations were the logical consequence of the course of history and of working people's difficult struggle for their freedom.

The article published today describes the historical truth about the formation of one of the Soviet Baltic republics, Latvia, and the development of its economy, science, and culture.

The history of the Latvian people, whose forebears came to the Baltic's shores 4,000 years ago, is complex and rich in dramatic events. They have had to endure much suffering and sorrow. The revolutionary struggle of the working class, begun at the end of the last century, is a vivid stage in their history. Many episodes in that struggle waged jointly with the other peoples of what was then tsarist Russia are linked with the name of V.I. Lenin.

The period of people's power in Latvia between 1919-1920 was brief. It fell beneath the blows of the interventionists and local counterrevolution. It was not until July 1940 that a socialist republic was formed on Latvian soil through the will of the working people. Less than 1 month later, in August of that year, Latvia voluntarily joined the fraternal family of the Soviet peoples.

During those memorable days, a fundamental move took place away from the bourgeois system to a new socialist system. How did that happen? How was it that a state which had existed for 20 years collapsed within 4-6 weeks in the summer of 1940 like a pack of cards without a single shot being fired? Was there a revolutionary situation in Latvia on the eve of 1940, and what was the role of the Soviet-German pact of 23 August 1939 and of the Red Army in these events? Questions which used to be discussed by a narrow circle of historians have now had a broad impact on society and are being fervently discussed.

When addressing different audiences, you can see that the listeners' great interest in these problems is due to a desire to really understand them. There was another noticeable feature, however. Under the influence of foreign radio stations, the emphasis and thrust of the questions posed by the lecturer's "opponents" sometimes change. It is very distressing to realize that until recently, pitifully little attention was paid to such an important matter and few informed explanations were given in lectures, the press, on radio, or television. This was usually remembered only at the time of the republic's anniversary.

Historians of Soviet Latvia have never concealed either the fact of the presence of Red Army units on Latvian territory or the USSR Government's note of 16 June 1940 to the Latvian Government. They have always assessed and explained these facts and showed the situation which had come about in Latvia by summer 1940. A revolutionary situation was created here at the beginning of World War II. The sharp deterioration of Latvia's economic situation because of the maritime blockade by the belligerents (the bulk of Latvia's industrial raw materials were received from Germany and Britain), the closure of enterprises or their transfer to a short working week, and the sharp rise in unemployment and commodity prices aggravated the social conflicts and caused deep dissatisfaction among the working class. The fascist regime of K. Ulmanis, established in May 1934, survived the most acute crisis. The absence of a parliament or of political parties and the concentration of legislative and executive power in the hands of Ulmanis, who was simultaneously president and head of government, provided no opportunity for political maneuvering in the conditions of the aggravated internal situation. The struggle between the rural and the urban bourgeoisie, the discontent of the bourgeoisie in the national minorities, and the repatriation of the pro-Nazi German population from Latvia in fall 1939, a process which weakened the ruling camp, are just some elements of the crisis of the ruling fascist regime.

Of course, it was different from Hitlerite or Italian fascism because its social base, the rural bourgeoisie, was different, and it was oriented toward not Germany but Britain. Nevertheless, its existence in Latvia produced a number of new and significant phenomena in its political life in the second half of the thirties. In 1934, a united front of the working class was created, and 5 years later the united antifascist front began operating. By its slogans it attracted broad segments of the intelligentsia and petite bourgeoisie, which formed the majority—60 percent—of the 2-million population.

It would be wrong to explain the presence of a revolutionary situation in Latvia in 1939-1940 solely in terms of internal factors. Their role was great, but there was another no less significant aspect to the problem: the characteristics of the situation in Europe and the positions of the Soviet Union, Germany, and Britain. The political storms raging in Europe were echoed in Latvia. The threat of invasion by Hitler hung over Latvia as far back as 1933-1934. The existence of that threat and the population's belief that Ulmanis would capitulate to the Hitlerites produced a completely new and unprecedented situation—a growth in anti-German and anti-Hitlerite feelings among the peasantry, servicemen, the intelligentsia, and the national minorities.

And however we assess the Soviet-German pact of 23 August 1939 and the Soviet-Latvian treaty of 5 October that year, it is clear that by those treaties the Soviet Union saved Latvia from the threat of invasion by Hitler. In 1939-1940 the Soviet Union and Germany faced each other in the Baltic as hostile forces, and undoubtedly the sympathies of the overwhelming majority of the Latvian population were on the Soviet Union's side. This is a convincing example of how an external factor can influence an internal one. And what else should the population of Latvia feel in the spring of 1940 after the fall of Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, and Belgium?

The fall of France and the British Army's catastrophe at Dunkirk aggravated the situation in Europe even more. Now the path to the Balkans and the Baltic was open to the Wehrmacht. Such was the historical reality of summer 1940, which occasioned the entry of Red Army units into Latvia. The Ulmanis government accepted the USSR Government's proposal, and Red Army units entered the country under a special agreement. The Latvian Armed Forces command explained to its subordinates: The Red Army men are not enemies but allies. The Soviet units faced not the slightest resistance.

The very fact of the presence of servicemen from the world's first socialist state was a particular catalyst for serious class clashes. In Riga and Daugavpils there were mass actions by working people and skirmishes with the police. The Ulmanis government (which had resigned but continued to function) declared a state of siege in the capital and throughout the republic and kept the entire punitive apparatus on combat readiness. Desperate attempts were made to preserve the old regime. But between 17-20 June 1940, the Latvian working class had the decisive say. The correlation of class forces changed sharply in Latvia, and in view of the Red Army units' presence, the bourgeoisie decided against the bloody suppression of the working class' actions and peacefully surrendered power.

The creation of a people's government on 20 June 1940 headed by Professor A. Kirkhenshteyn signaled not only the end of fascist dictatorship but the end of bourgeois rule altogether. The socialist revolution began from the moment the new government issued its first orders on Latvian soil.

Who, then, led this process? Who organized the masses? The victory of socialist forces was the result of enormous work by the Communist Party of Latvia, the victorious result of its 20-year underground activity, and the cohesion of the worker front.

Latvian Communists traveled a long road of sore trials. The bourgeois regime repressed them and threw them in prison. The party was in point of fact disbanded in 1936. But Communists found inner strength, restored party organizations' activity, held their 26th conference, and elected a new central committee. By 1940 the party had doubled its ranks, and when it emerged from the underground, there were around 1,000 members in its organizations. A further 500 Communists who had previously lost contact with party organizations took an active part in party work during the July days. The Latvian Communist Party was proletarian in membership. Communists operated in all industrial centers, enjoyed great authority, and gave a lead to the working masses. The party became the political headquarters of the revolution during June-July 1940.

What happened in Latvia, then, during those 2 months of 1940? An occupation regime with curfew, arrests, and persecution? The champions of the "occupation theory" would like to see just such a picture in the life of Latvia. But it did not exist in reality. There was no persecution, no terror, there was complete rule of law and order. The people's government enjoyed support and respect, and not a single military unit of the Latvian Army was disbanded. All government establishments functioned normally, and there was no sabotage by officials. Apart from two newspapers and one magazine, all publications (including the Catholic newspaper) continued to appear in the same number of copies and to be run by the same staff. The Latvian Army command closely cooperated with the Red Army. All the diplomatic missions of capitalist countries recognized the legitimacy of A. Kirkhensteyn's government, and no protests about "occupation" were received.

The notion of a revolutionary situation is linked, first and foremost, with the activity of the broad popular masses. When we recall the summer of 1940 in Latvia, the first things our memory revives are the sea of red banners in the streets and squares, rallies and demonstrations involving thousands of working people, an unprecedented upsurge of public enthusiasm, and the beginning of transformations in every aspect of life: the economy, the political system, the state apparatus, and culture.

The decision of the People's Sejm of Latvia of 21 July 1940 on the restoration of Soviet power and the accession of the Latvian SSR to the Soviet Union opened a new page in the Latvian people's history. The path of building socialism has not been an easy one. Many strata linked with the policy of repression in the years of the cult of the personality and with deformations in the economic, social, and cultural spheres did great harm. But the achievements of Soviet Latvia's working people in socialist transformations are, nevertheless, very great. Latvia is right to be proud of its development of the economy, science, and culture. Working people's prosperity has increased: Latvia occupies one of the top places in the Soviet Union in terms of generation of per capita national income. We produce modern electric trains, radio sets, telephone exchanges, minibuses.... Working people's achievements in agriculture are considerable. Friends from many regions of the country come to acquire experience in the best Latvian kolkhozes and agrofirms.

And it must never be forgotten that it became possible for our republic to flourish only in close union and collaboration with all the fraternal republics. No one will deny today the large contribution made to our success in the postwar years by our friends, who supply Latvia with raw and semifinished materials, electricity, and petroleum products. The republic's industry cannot run normally for a single day without supplies from the other regions. The countryside, too, receives more than half of the mixed feed it needs, virtually all the equipment, and fertilizer from union stocks. In turn the tempo of work in numerous enterprises in the country depends to a large extent on supplies from Latvia.

In the years of Soviet power, hundreds and thousands of people in the republic have been able to graphically demonstrate their organizational and creative talent. The names of the following heroes of socialist labor are known the length and breadth of the country: A. Kauls, chairman of the "Adazhi" Agrofirm; V. Kalnberz, surgeon; and I. Bumbur, chairman of the "Uzvara" fishing kolkhoz. Representatives of other nationalities are working equally successfully alongside them. N. Golodov, director of the Liyepayskiy "Sarkanays Metalurgs" Plant, A. Karev, director of the Daugavpilsskiy drive-chain plant,... have won the well-deserved respect of the population of Latvia through their conscientious labor.

The friendship of Soviet people, irrespective of their nationality, is developed and strengthened in creative daily labor and active participation in the restructuring process of renewing society. We all have but one goal and one aspiration: to make a reality of the restructuring plans drawn up by the Communist Party and improve socialist society and our common home on Leninist principles.

Much remains to be done in the sphere of improving relations among the nationalities during restructuring by following the course mapped out in the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference resolution. Specific work is being carried out to extend the rights of union republics, including the Latvian SSR, and local soviets. Practical work to solve urgent problems has already begun. The program of transformations is supported by the broadest masses of the working people of the republic, and social activeness and a desire to assist the progress of restructuring and make the process irreversible are growing before our eyes.

Fresh new winds are sweeping over the ancient Latvian land, over a land whose people became its true master and master of their own destiny during those memorable July days of 1940.

Demonstrators Picket Estonian Supreme Court
PM1907131388 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 8 Jul 88 p 4

[ETA correspondent Y. Talva report: "Meeting With Pickets"]

[Text] Yesterday was the 6th day that people had been picketing the Supreme Court building carrying national flags and chanting slogans, among them a demand that the convicted M. Niklus and E. Tarto be released and that the criminal proceedings begun against S. Zholdin be dropped. Yesterday it was proposed that the pickets enter the Supreme Court building so as to discuss with Internal Affairs Minister M. Tibar and L. Urge, the republic's prosecutor, the legality of picketing and the chances of meeting the pickets' demands.

The proposal was accepted by four pickets, who were joined by another dozen during the meeting. Estonian Minister of Internal Affairs M. Tibar introduced those present and explained the prevailing situation to the pickets. He started by recalling the existing legislation under which any demonstration or rally needs to obtain permission from the rayispolkom or gorispolkom, whether the pickets like it or not. And picketing is one sort of demonstration. According to the authorities, nobody had applied to the Leninskiy Rayispolkom or the Tallinn Gorispolkom for permission to picket the Supreme Court building. Despite this, the pickets had been treated with respect and patience for 6 days. This situation cannot continue indefinitely. The problems which the pickets are demanding be resolved had been dealt with by the relevant republican departments long before the picketing started. The proposal has long been made that superior organs should deem the mass deportations of 1941 and 1949 illegal. The question of the release of M. Niklus was decided by the USSR Supreme Court before the picketing started. The criminal case against E. Tarto is being checked on a supervisory basis at the USSR Prosecutor's Office. According to the available information, M. Niklus has been released from custody and should be home soon. As for S. Zholdin, his guilt is not merely restricted to the distribution of leaflets. As has already been reported, he has four previous convictions (theft of personal and state property, aggravated malicious hooliganism, theft of 20 cars, and debauchery). During the preliminary investigation into S. Zholdin's activity other actions were established which, against the background of his very criminal past, were a reason for a prolonged investigation. It should be noted that state security organs, which should complete their preliminary investigation by 31 July, are investigating Zholdin's criminal actions. After this, the results of the investigation will be released.

At the same time, with every passing day the pickets' slogans are becoming more provocative and offensive with regard to many of our constitutional institutions and officials. One sometimes gets the impression that the pickets are trying to provoke an incident with the authorities, since the chanting of provocative and offensive slogans in a public place could, as is well known, be interpreted as malicious hooliganism.

Summing up the results of the above, M. Tibar advised the pickets to stop picketing or seek the relevant permission from the rayispolkom or gorispolkom. He also expressed the certainty that the picketing of the Supreme Court will in no way accelerate the resolution of the

question on the part of nonrepublican organs and could only damage the democratization process. After all, democracy presupposes the observance of existing laws and—given pluralism of views and convictions—avoidance of slanging matches. As for the acceleration of changes to existing legislation, here, too, haste and emotion can only do damage and lead to new errors.

L. Urge then gave answers to those present to the questions of who investigated the cases of M. Niklus, I. Khint, K. Raave, and others, and how it was done. At the same time, he stressed that anyone's guilt or innocence is nonetheless established by the courts at various levels, and not by the investigators. Many other questions were touched upon linked with the utilization of national symbols, the observance of legality during interrogations and talks, the democratization of legislation, the procedure for using articles which will clearly be changed, the objectivity of glasnost, and the utilization of different channels to ensure it. L. Urge stressed that all the problems raised by the pickets will be resolved by legal and constitutional means—and that takes time.

The picket representatives claimed that their actions are a lesson in democracy and, in turn, should serve as feedback for the authorities with regard to the way in which various groupings regard renewal. They also expressed their opinion about the sentences handed down to M. Niklus and E. Tarto and the conditions under which they were held. They even put forward the false thesis that laws which will soon be changed should not always be strictly observed.

In conclusion, M. Tibar and L. Urge stressed yet again the need to observe existing legislation.

Estonian Financial Autonomy Model Described

LD1807150788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] A model of transferring the republic to regional financial autonomy is being developed now in Estonia. Our correspondent Heimar Link reports:

[Link] Talks about regional financial autonomy on the republican scale started a year ago in Estonia when the newspapers (EDATI) and (VPERED) published a series of articles in which a group of economists put forth the idea of tranferring the republic to full financial autonomy and self-financing. This means that in the all-union division of labor Estonia would take part as a single economic region where all production would be controlled by the republic's government, unlike it is now when 90 percent of Estonian enterprises are controlled by all-union departments. I asked Bruno Eduardovich Saul, chairman of the Estonian Council of Ministers, to comment on this.

[Begin Saul recording] Briefly speaking, regional accounting means measuring our income against our expenditure. This is precisely the idea that was approved at the 19th party conference. Proceeding from this, the republic's government instructed the Academy of Sciences, and the Institute for Economics in particular, to study this subject on a scientific basis. Simultaneously, work aimed at the implementation of elements of this financial autonomy is now underway. They include transferring the republic to full wholesale trade in the means of production for the national economy. Also, the issue of new principles for drafting the republic's budget is being examined where [word indistinct] determines norms according to all-union rules, but in the remaining part of distributing its income in relation to its debit items the republic will have a certain independence in using them. Therefore, in a few words, this is a way to overcome stagnation in our economy with the purpose of sharply improving the population's living standards. Relations with other republics have been taken into account too. The republic's government has submitted proposals to the union government—the first package was submitted on 15 January and the second package of proposals on 24 June—and we hope that they will be examined in the republic's interests, thus investing us with a right to solve economic problems on the spot and not the way it is done now. [end recording]

Zaykov Inspects Moscow Subway System

LD1507161388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0104 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Questions of the radical improvement of the work of the capital's subway system, the accelerated lengthening and traffic on the underground routes were discussed on 14 July during a tour of inspection made by Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee, of a number of metro stations, some in operation and some under construction.

Zaykov, Baklanov Visit Machine-Building Works

LD1607043488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Excerpts] The capital's working class supports the party policy aimed at restructuring and acceleration. This was stressed during today's meeting between Comrade Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow gorkom, and the Znamya Revolyutsii machine-building works collective, which is well known in the capital. Great attention is being paid here to introducing scientific and technological achievements. More and more flexible production modules, robots from technical complexes, computer controlled machine-tools, and processing centers are appearing in workshops. [passage omitted]

The meeting considered questions concerning modernization and technical upgrading of production and transfer to the new conditions of economic management. It was noted that an expansion of output and improvement of the quality of consumer goods must be under constant supervision of the party committee. The collective's

initiative regarding development of an economic method in housing construction to provide every family in the works with a self-contained apartment was endorsed. We note that it is planned to fulfill this task by 1998. [passage omitted]

Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Belyakov, head of a Central Committee department; Systsov, USSR minister of the aviation industry, and Korolev, secretary of the Moscow CPSU State Committee visited the works with Comrade Zaykov.

At the meeting that was held afterwards with the party aktiv of the Sverdlovskiy rayon of the capital, tasks to implement the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference were discussed.

Zaykov Examines New Airliner at Plant
PM2107091188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Monitoring Creation of TU-204"]

[Text] The new TU-204 passenger airliner whose creation was envisaged by decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress is to go out onto the country's air routes as early as the present 5-year plan. Economical, reliable, and complying with world models, the aircraft will make it possible to satisfy increased transport requirements more fully.

On 20 July the Moscow party gorkom discussed, as part of the monitoring procedure, measures for the unconditional fulfillment of this very important national economic task within the set schedule. It was noted that the collective of the capital's "Opyt" machine building plant named for A.N. Tupolev, together with workers from other enterprises and organizations, has performed a large amount of work. A modern scientific and technical standard has been included in the concept of the new airliner.

At the same time a lag behind the work schedule for building test aircraft has been allowed.

The statements of the Communists who are leaders of the USSR Ministry of the Aviation Industry and other ministries and departments, enterprises and organizations to the effect that they would do everything necessary to eliminate the lag were taken into account.

The day before the progress of work on the creation of the new airliner was examined by L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, at the Moscow "Opyt" machine building plant. Academician A.A. Tupolev, the general designer, described the problems which the collective of designers and technicians is resolving in developing the chief sample [golovnoy obrazets] of the aircraft and preparing it for series production.

In the plant's shops and design bureaus the CPSU Central Committee secretary discussed topics of scientific research and planning and design work and the tasks connected with improving the collective's working and daily living conditions.

Dolgikh, Gusev Attend Moscow Ceremony
LD1607025788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A ceremony took place in Moscow today devoted to Metallurgists Day. This profesional holiday will be celebrated on Sunday, 17 July. Comrade Dolgikh; Comrade Gusev, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman; representatives of party and local Soviet organizations; leaders of ministries and departments; scientists; and frontranking production workers were in the presidium.

Reports at the gathering were delivered by Comrade Kolpakov, minister of ferrous metallurgy, and Comrade Durasov, minister of nonferrous metallurgy [video shows shots of audience and those on platform including Dolgikh]

Biryukova, Solovyev Speak on Consumer Goods
PM2107104988 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jul 88 p 1

[LENTASS report: "Saturating the Market With Goods and Services"]

[Text] A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was in Leningrad 11-14 July. She visited the "Bolshevichka" Sewn Goods Association, the "Plastmass" Association, the "Skorokhod" Footwear Association, the S.M. Kirov Spinning Combine, the "Pozitron" Science and Production Association, the Soviet-FRG "Lenvest" footwear enterprise, the M.V. Lomonosov Porcelain Plant, the Own-Brand Trade Center, and the consumer goods exhibition.

The conversations in labor collectives and with party, soviet, and economic workers focused on questions of the practical implementation of the task put forward at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference of the swiftest satisfaction of the population's effective demand for consumer goods and services.

A meeting of the aktiv of working people from Leningrad enterprises producing consumer goods took place in the Smolnyy yesterday. It was opened by Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad party obkom.

As stressed in the documents of the 19th all-union party conference, he said, the most important task in the socioeconomic sphere is to accelerate the solution of vital problems of the people's well-being. This mainly concerns improving the country's food supply and saturating the market with various goods and services. Work in this direction has been significantly stepped up in the Leningrad region. The radical reconstruction of light industry enterprises is being implemented, and the contribution of other industrial sectors in the city and oblast toward supplying the necessary goods has become more noticeable. But there have been no noticeable changes in the main area—improving the supply to Leningrad stores of high-quality goods in great demand. The far from harmless tendency for vigorous "erosion" of the cheap range of goods is also connected with this. As a result, the expansion of volume indicators is not accompanied by a real growth in the quantity of goods available.

A direct consequence of this situation is the growth in the population's deposits in savings banks. If there are no goods available, the rubles that have been earned are put aside until better times. This leads to a reduction in wages' incentive role and a slowing of money circulation, and gives rise to inflationary processes.

This situation, which is hindering the progress of transformations in the social sphere, Yu.F. Solovyev stressed, must be fundamentally changed. The all-union party conference also clearly showed ways to reach the set aim. These are the vigorous utilization of the new economic mechanism, the accelerated retooling of industry, the broad utilization of local resources, and the development of the cooperative movement and individual labor activity.

The Leningrad region has every opportunity to advance the production of goods for the population more rapidly. It is necessary to show greater boldness in overcoming departmentalism and displaying initiative and economic independence on the basis of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association). And, of course, there is a need for a mechanism to give each production collective an interest in manufacturing consumer goods. Here party committees and party organizations must occupy a principled position. Local soviets' vigor and persistence is indispensable. They must effectively influence the solution of questions of meeting people's needs.

A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke at the aktiv meeting.

The all-union party conference, she stressed, convincingly demonstrated the profound, radical progress in the style of work and the very life of our party. I particularly want to talk about the impartial assessment of the results of activity in the socioeconomic sphere over the last 3 years. A trend toward an improvement in the situation in this sector has emerged and is becoming stronger. But we all underestimated the depth and gravity of the stagnation of recent years. Structural progress in the economy is taking place only slowly. The tone of our propaganda was such that people expected a fast return on restructuring and rapid positive changes in the market for food and nonfood goods, in the sphere of trade and services, health care, and other spheres. Although it is clear that it is virtually impossible to do this in 2 or 3 years. At the same time the conference did not doubt the validity of the party's strategic line in the sphere of economics.

The problems on whose solution the people's mood and vigor, and therefore also their support for the party's political line, primarily depend are concentrated primarily in the social sphere, A.P. Biryukova went on. One of the most urgent of these problems is saturating the market with goods and services. We Communists do not have the right to come to the 28th party congress without having ensured tangible positive progress in satisfying the population's effective demand for goods and services. It is essential to improve the state of affairs in the very near future.

In the 1st 2 years of the 5-year plan the population was unable to spend R33 billion on necessary goods and R4.5 billion on paid services. There was a shortfall of R22 billion in retail trade turnover. Of course, it would be wrong to fail to note the positive changes. In the 1st 6 months of the current year the retail trade turnover plan was fulfilled for the first time in 7 years. But there are no grounds for complacency, for there has been no breakthrough on the goods and services front. Unsatisfied demand for them is not falling, but continues to grow. In order to eliminate this sore point in social and economic life it is not enough today merely to fulfill the 5-year plan control figures and the targets of the comprehensive program for goods and services. They do not accord with the real situation in the consumer market and in the money circulation sphere or with the tasks of raising the people's well-being put forward by the 19th all-union party conference.

The Politburo members and CPSU Central Committee secretaries, A.P. Biryukova said, have been ordered to work out additional measures, both immediate and long-term, to increase production of nonfood goods, expand paid services, and radically improve trade work. It is intended to seek reserves that can be used in the remaining 2 years of the 5-year plan to alleviate the acuteness of consumer market problems and which in the 13th 5-Year Plan will make it possible to remove from the agenda the very problem of the shortage of goods and noticeably improve the satisfaction of people's demand for them in both quantitative and qualitative terms.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary analyzed the state of consumer goods production in Leningrad and gave her impressions of her visit to industrial and trade enterprises.

N.G. Karzhavina, general director of the "Rot-Front" Fur Association, I.I. Simakov, party committee secretary of the "Svetlana" Association, A.S. Vorobyev, chief of

the Leningrad Gorispolkom Local Industry Administration, and S.B. Petrov, general director of the "Mayak" Sewn Goods Association, talked in their speeches about ways to overcome the lag in satisfying consumer demand. They made specific proposals to improve work in light industry and other sectors connected with the production of consumer goods.

Members of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom Bureau, senior party, soviet, trade union workers, A.A. Biryukov, RSFSR minister of light industry, and B.S. Belyayev, RSFSR minister of the textile industry, took part in the meeting's work.

Lukyanov Attends Constitution Conference

LD1507220188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 14 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] At the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of State and Law in Moscow today there was a conference devoted to the 70th anniversary of the adoption of the 1918 RSFSR Constitution, the world's first basic law of a socialist state.

Comrade Lukyanov, eminent Soviet scientists, and representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations took part in its work. Anatoliy Ivanovich Lykyanov addressed the conference. [video shows Lukyanov seated at a table, speaking at the rostrum]

It was noted at the conference that the first Soviet constitution had been created on the Communist Party's initiative, and an enormous contribution to its drafting was made by Vladimir Ilich Lenin. At his suggestion, the declaration on the rights of the working and exploited people became the first section of the RSFSR Constitution. Its prreparation and adoption reflecteed the aspirations and interests of the working masses of Russia. The constitution summed up the the first results and gains from the Great October Revolution and outlined a program for socialist construction in our country.

Speaks at Ceremony

PM1507142388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jul 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Country's First Constitution"]

[Excerpt] It has been 70 years since the adoption of the world's first fundamental law for a socialist state—the RSFSR Constitution of 1918. It summed up the gains of Great October and the building of Soviet statehood, provided a sound legal foundation for the further development of a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and outlined a program of socialist building. This important event in our country's life was commemorated 14 July by a conference at the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute.

The opening speech at the conference was delivered by A.I. Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The main avenues in the development and adoption of the law were discussed in the report "The RSFSR Constitution of 1918 and the Constitutional Development of the Soviet State" delivered by Academician V.N. Kudryavtsev, director of the institute. [passage omitted]

RSFSR Minister on Improving Social Security

PM2107141188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 88 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with V. Kaznacheyev, RSFSR minister of social security, by A. Chernenko: "Economics of Mercy"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Chernenko] Viktor Alekseyevich, there is no need to varnish the obvious fact: The situation prevailing in your department is very acute.... Is this the result of an imperfect structure, or is it a reflection of general problems in the economy?

[Kaznacheyev] Probably the most dangerous thing is to simplify the essence of problems, reducing them merely to a "reflection" of the overall situation. But I would like to clarify matters: The state of affairs in the system reflects not so much economic difficulties as the ailments which afflicted our social organism during the stagnation years. I am profoundly confident that it is not simply a question of the size of appropriations but of the fact that they were handled in a mechanical and blindly bureaucratic way.... And the fact is that the ministry's central apparatus was unable and perhaps unwilling to struggle for the social justice about which we are talking today. As a consequence, our services in autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts adhered to what was exclusively a policy of "instructions and directives." Mercy was replaced by instructions. Initiative was replaced by directives. This resulted in flagrant phenomena which have no place in normal human awareness.

[Chernenko] What do you have in mind?

[Kaznacheyev] The absolute neglect of elderly people in a number of regions. For instance, there were cases of residential home "services" discovered in Bryansk Oblast that are not just shameful but painful to talk about: Sometimes there would not even be any water available! In Perm Oblast elderly dignified people who had spent their lives in honest work were forced to live under the same roof as old people who had received criminal sentences. They would sometimes hold the entire home in state of fear.... PRAVDA has already described this terrible situation, stating that it is time to rid the Ministry of Social Security subunits of such people.

Young invalids are a serious problem. Again PRAVDA has acutely raised this question of late. There are at least 1 million active invalids who are willing and able to work, but the conditions under which they are placed (again by instructions!) do not allow this natural need to be realized.

[Chernenko] Quite frankly, I'm impressed by your frankness and the level of criticism you have used in assessing the prevailing situation. However, criticism nonetheless implies a constructive program. You are a new minister. As far as I am aware, you have come to this office with great experience of party and economic work and—so I was told—when you started, you spent 5-6 hours a day analyzing letters. Did that help you to home in on the range of problems that had accumulated in the social security system?

[Kaznacheyev] That analysis did not so much clarify the overall picture as fill it with real-life, real human suffering. The years of stagnation had hit hard at unprotected people: invalids, old people, pensioners on a small pension. And our ministry had promised too much while actually doing too little.

[Chernenko] What precisely did you promise?

[Kaznacheyev] For instance, around 10 years ago, the press stated that the pension provisions for certain groups of war invalids would be reviewed. But letters asking "When are we going to get it?!" still continue to come in.... If we are talking about a program, I would highlight three main directions. The first would be to strengthen the material base not just through the state budget, but also through other sources that are not normally used. The second would be to exploit the economic mechanisms that have been produced by restructuring. I have in mind, in particular, the involvement of "individual" craftsmen and cooperatives in the production of artificial limbs and equipment for invalids. Our subunits are huge and cumbersome; the artificial limbs they produce are primitive and bad. I am sure that partnership with cooperative members will help to accomplish a great deal. And the third would be to struggle for the assertion of social justice—first and foremost, for humane attitudes to powerless people and absolute objectivity when calculating pensions and benefits.

[Chernenko] To be blunt, some people are mistrustful about the latter. The burden of the stagnation years is too heavy. The number of undeserved awards and, correspondingly, undeserved privileges upon reaching pensionable age is considerable; at times, these privileges extend to entire family "clans."

[Kaznacheyev] Whose "clan" do you mean?

[Chernenko] The Brezhnev clan, for instance. There are rumors that his daughter Galina received a special pension, as did his brother Yakov Ilich. And his son Yuriy Leonidovich. And even his son-in-law Churbanov's father Mikhail Churbanov.... In this sense, it strikes me that readers need truthful information.

[Kaznacheyev] I agree. And I can report that our ministry has received a resolution stating that all the aforesaid individuals have been stripped of their undeserved pension and other privileges.

[Chernenko] But we're talking about elderly people. Just what have they been stripped of—their pensions?

[Kaznacheyev] No, not their pensions, but their undeserved extras and other privileges. They are left with their normal pensions in accordance with the jobs they did, and according to the norms laid down by the law.

[Chernenko] Well, thanks for removing the veil of "secrecy" from a case that had produced all kinds of rumors.

[Kaznacheyev] I think that we have still not fully assessed the path we have traveled since April 1985, for without the difficult lessons of this path, such cases could not have been brought out into the open. The glasnost process is acquiring substantial quality—it is making bureaucratic offices "transparent." This is doubly important in the sphere of social security. First, the aforementioned case shows that the path to social justice has two aspects. The first is the implementation of our plans and ideas regarding the further improvement of the social security system. The second is the difficult purification process. Each can only be conceived in combination with the other. Incidentally, glasnost and the democratization process require that we change our purely ministerial thinking: I think it would be a good idea to hold an open competition to fill vacancies in the "ministerial nomenklatura."

[Chernenko] How realistic would it be to announce an "open competition"?

[Kaznacheyev] Entirely realistic. Via PRAVDA, I can at least suggest that enterprising people who are honest, good-natured, and aware of our problems should send us resumes for the new post of, say, "inspector of Great Patriotic War and internationalist servicemen invalids." Service in Afghanistan would be an indispensable requirement.

[Chernenko] I think that you won't have to wait long for candidates, Viktor Alekseyevich. But there are far more problems with the RSFSR Ministry of Social Security; it is the equal of the highest-priority sectors in terms of the money it "digests" every year.

[Kaznacheyev] Yes, it runs into tens of billions of rubles. But we're not talking about money. I, like any minister, will say that there is not enough. But the problem now is something else: to ensure that every ruble is translated into kindness and warmth. This cannot be achieved by

working in the old way. I am thinking of contacts with the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Medical Instruments [Minmedpribor], the Gosstroy, and the Ministry of the Automotive Industry, but particularly with local soviets. For instance, the RSFSR Gosplan allocated quite a large sum—R226 million—for construction of residential homes in 1988 alone. Checks revealed that R163 million of this was used by local ispolkoms for different purposes! Here it is not a question of the loss of a sense of mercy, but of economic falsification and a distortion of state social policy. It's inconceivable, but it's a fact! I'll be frank: The picture of our cooperation with local authorities in Kemerovo, Arkhangelsk, and even in Moscow and Leningrad is sometimes so depressing that you feel like packing it in. The selection of and search for ways of cooperating are extremely important now.

[Chernenko] At a time when economic accountability [khozraschet] is being introduced, one inevitably thinks about the level of our mercy. After all, this sentiment cannot be calculated in economic terms....

[Kaznacheyev] Precisely. But why do a number of countries find it advantageous and profitable to employ invalids and train old people in new skills? Why do we condemn the elderly to enforced idleness when they arrive at an old people's home?! Excellent dressmakers, cabinet makers, teachers... It is not so unusual to find an old people's home containing many teachers standing alongside a village school with a shortage of teachers. Utilizing this "potential" means working and seeking ways of cooperating. And we know how to do that. Or we have learned how. In general, I would say that during the period of restructuring, new leaders—if they want to change something—must change attitudes to stereotypes. We need soulmates and dedicated people.

[Chernenko] As in any job...

[Kaznacheyev] Particularly in ours. Since we are talking about a feeling without which people stop being people.

[Chernenko] If you will permit me, I would like to pass on to you some letters that PRAVDA has received—to hand-deliver them, so to speak. There are ideas in them.

[Kaznacheyev] Well, I'll try to answer each writer personally. And if the idea is really worthwhile, we'll give it the go-ahead.

Council of Ministers Debates Taxation Issue

PM1907150188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 88 p1

[P. Voshchanov "Notes of Our Economic Observer From USSR Council of Ministers Presidium Session": "There Must Be Glasnost in the Economy"]

[Text] "The arithmetic of bureaucracy" is how Moscow cooperative worker Viktor Korchagin expressed his attitude to the draft Decree on the Taxation of Cooperatives. His stance aroused a great response. "The draft of the new decree undermines the cooperative movement and is a blow to restructuring," the "Primorskiy" Cooperative in Rostov-on-Don cabled us. "The millionaires have gotten themselves into a panic! They felt threatened!" V. Tarasyuk wrote from Dnepropetrovsk. I have deliberately given diametrically opposed, even irreconcilable, attitudes so that the general opinion can be better appreciated against this background: There must also be glasnost in economic life! "We cannot allow a departmental solution to taxation issues"—this is the purport of a telegram sent to the editorial office by the "Vorkut" Cooperative. "This decree must be given nationwide discussion," worker V. Krisapov from Kalinin Oblast believes.

It is indeed true that public monitoring of the economy is one of the achievements of restructuring. And this is precisely how the discussion of the new procedure for the taxation of cooperatives at the 13 July session of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium has been interpreted. The chairmen of cooperatives from different regions of the country, leading scientists, USSR Supreme Soviet deputies, party and soviet workers, workers and leaders from many industrial enterprises, and journalists from all the central newspapers were invited to it. Basically, the country's government was holding session "behind open doors." The press representatives present will probably not be able to recall when this has happened before. The very makeup of the participants said: A heated discussion lies ahead! Especially as N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, urged precisely this when opening the session.

Several dozen people addressed the session. Everyone had his own views, his own approach, and his own suggestions. They expressed their minds without looking over their shoulders at the authorities. Even the length of the speeches was not limited. But it must be said that not everyone has yet learned to work in the conditions of democracy. I would also address this criticism to cooperative workers. They are enthusiastic people and consequently are sometimes not prepared to listen to their opponents. "Enough! You are wrong!" was often heard in the hall. These conflicts had to be "quelled" by the head of government: We have not come here to be yes-men, but we have come here to listen to different points of view!

USSR Finance Minister B.I. Gostev expounded his version of cooperative taxation. What are the main features? And how does it differ from the present system, which has aroused so much criticism? There are some changes, of course. But, in the opinion of the majority of the speakers, the initial positions are the same. How did the minister substantiate this? By the need to place relations between cooperatives and the state within a reasonable framework, restrain any attempts at enrichment, and prevent inequality in the economic position of state and cooperative enterprises.

But can these tasks be solved through taxation alone? And, moreover, in such a way that no damage is done to the budding cooperative movement? The opinion of most of the speakers is that it is not possible. Taxation is a two-edged weapon and must be used with extreme caution. The opinion was that more vigorous efforts must be made to transfer state enterprises to economic accountability and contractual prices. Radical economic reform in the state sector is a far more effective lever of influence on the cooperative movement than taxation.

So what was the main subject of the discussions? The prices and income of cooperatives, of course. After all, if they are unwarrantedly high, the introduction of high tax rates is also justified. Many people also talked about the use of hired labor in cooperatives. The question was formulated like this: Is this not a concealed form of exploitation and consequently a source of unearned income? The decision made by the Ministry of Finance to tax resources channeled by cooperatives into production development prompted a great deal of dispute. Scientists and cooperative workers were unanimous in the opinion that such a system would retard the development of this sector of our economy. The national budget would lose more from this than it would gain.

"We must not reduce all our problems to budgetary ones!" N.I. Ryzhkov urged the speakers. "We need a large-scale cooperative movement. If we solve this problem we will also solve our budgetary problems!"

Many cooperative workers expressed the desire to actively participate in foreign trade and the international cooperative movement. This is one way to saturate our market with quality, fashionable goods.

The question of negative features in the present cooperative movement did not escape attention. This was mentioned by cooperative workers themselves and particularly by workers at state enterprises. Speakers emphasized that our financial bodies have gradually lost their experience in working with cooperatives: Sometimes they are exacting in petty details but fail to pick up very serious breaches. This, of course, gives rise to legitimate complaints from citizens and discredits the cooperative movement itself. People cannot fail to be alarmed by the fact that smooth operators in the "shadow" economy are now trying to lead the cooperative market in our country. The organizational fragmentation of cooperatives only plays into their hands. That is why members of the government present at the session were excited by the question of forming cooperative associations free from our bureaucratic traditions.

N.I. Ryzhkov asked many cooperative workers how they thought these cooperative associations should be formed. "We will work it out ourselves! We do not need any decisions forced on us!"—this was the sense of some of the responses.

"But you need cooperative associations. Who else will protect cooperatives' interests? No one else. We have no intention of imposing anything but we will, of course, promote this process."

So what was the main outcome of the presidium session? The taxation system prepared by the USSR Finance Ministry, USSR Justice Ministry, and USSR Gosplan did not stand the test of glasnost! Following the discussion the government admitted that it is not properly substantiated. A decision was made to set up a special working group of representatives of the cooperative movement, science, and state bodies to draw up a new draft.

However, many are now concerned for the fate of the decree on taxation approved on 14 March this year. Will it really be able to "stand up" in spite of the criticism from all sides, including from the pages of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA? The Council of Ministers Presidium has defined the position on this question: It has issued instructions to consider the matter of suspending this decree. Let us hope that the tax "knot" is beginning to be unraveled....

CPSU Expresses Thanks for Conference Greetings

PM2107102988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee message of thanks to foreign organizations and individuals for greetings to 19th All-Union CPSU Conference: "Cordial Thanks"]

[Text] The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference received greetings from communist, workers, and revolutionary democratic parties, national liberation movements, public organizations, and individual citizens of foreign countries.

The CPSU Central Committee expresses its cordial thanks for the friendly wishes expressed in those messages. We see them as further evidence of the liking and support of broad strata of the world public for the CPSU's strategic course of the revolutionary renewal of socialist society, the expansion and deepening of socialist democracy, the consistent introduction of the principles of new thinking in our state's foreign policy course, and persistent struggle to avert the nuclear threat and ensure mankind's survival.

We would like to assure all our friends of the immutability of our chosen course and our determination to fight for peace, friendship, and cooperation among the peoples.

The CPSU Central Committee

Plans To Publish Conference Transcript Outlined

PM1907084388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with A. Polyakov, director of Political Literature Publishing House, by IZVESTIYA correspondent G. Alimov under rubric "Details for IZVESTIYA": "Transcript Prepared for Publication"; date and place not given—first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] The issues of PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA carrying the full texts of speeches by delegates to the 19th all-union party conference were an instant sellout and many families have bound them for storage as valuable documents of our time. All indications are that the same thing will also happen when all the conference materials are published. IZVESTIYA correspondent G. Alimov talked with A. Polyak, director of the Political Literature Publishing House.

[Alimov] The first pamphlet came out the day after the CPSU Central Committee report at the conference. Can we expect the other materials to appear as rapidly?

[Polyakov] There is a great deal of material and so it will take more than a day or a week to publish it. It is a question of books. While we also produced the pamphlet containing the conference resolutions promptly, the entire print run of the single-volume edition containing the general secretary's report, his speech during the debates, and the report from the Credentials Commission, and the seven resolutions will be published during July, August, and September. A total of 10 million copies. We have already received the preprint copies.

[Alimov] There is tremendous interest in the conference transcript. How do you plan to publish it, and in how large a print run?

[Polyakov] The transcript is now being worked on—some of the materials have been dispatched for typesetting and others are in preparation. At first we hoped to produce 2 volumes with a print run of 200,000. It is now evident that there will be three or maybe even four volumes—there is a very large amount of material, indeed, it has still not been fully determined. The texts submitted by the delegates who were unable to speak at the conference will be included in the transcript.

[Alimov] How are the speeches being prepared for publication, are any emendations and changes being made?

[Polyakov] Yes, necessary emendations are being made. But they do not affect the meaning. In some cases the authors of the speeches are clarifying their ideas, and in others they are purely stylistic amendments. Many speeches contain a wealth of factual material. We are thoroughly checking this material. We are coordinating all the requisite amendments with the authors.

[Alimov] Will the transcript be sold as a complete set?

[Polyakov] Yes, that should be the case. We will start production of all volumes simultaneously, with short intervals. We are reaching agreement with "Soyuzkniga" to ensure that the volumes appear in bookshops as a complete set.

[Alimov] What is the proposed price per volume?

[Polyakov] Everything will depend on the number produced. But it should be between R1.20 and R1.40.

[Alimov] Do you think that 200,000 copies will be enough? I think there are many more people who want to have the transcript on their bookshelves.

[Polyakov] The first edition will be 200,000 copies. We may have to reprint. We must do this. For these publications are something that will be read over and over. "Soyuzkniga" will have to distribute them very precisely and proportionately among the regions. For it sometimes happens that there is a shortage in one area and a surfeit in another....

[Alimov] When can we expect to see the first sets of the transcript on the shelves?

[Polyakov] In October. If possible, maybe even at the end of September....

Editorial Views Conference Decision on Glasnost

PM1907135588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The 19th Party Conference on Glasnost"; capitalization as published]

[Text] For 4 hot summer days the country could not tear itself away from its television screens when the caption "Party Conference Diary" flashed up. The next day the country would compare its impressions of what it had seen the day before with the official reports published in newspapers. People were stunned: "Did you see? EVEN THAT wasn't cut!... EVEN THAT was printed!..." It was not only the degree of frankness shown by the speakers from the rostrum at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses that was unusual but also the degree of frankness of the reports on these debates that were presented to the "masses" and to "ordinary" people.

Glasnost is, above all, TRUST, trust in the people's wisdom, common sense, and political and civic maturity. Glasnost is RESPECT for the people. Trust and respect are the main nonmaterial driving forces in our social mechanism. It is no coincidence that the conference described glasnost in all spheres of life as "one of the most important conditions for further deepening the processes of restructuring and for ensuring the irreversibility of restructuring."

In the last 3 years the very atmosphere in the country has enabled us to gain a better understanding of our past and present. In this atmosphere mighty patriotic forces are spurred on to active purposeful work for the good of the country and of socialism. It is the incorporation of glasnost into public life that has helped us profoundly and objectively assess the situation in the country with the participation of the public and collegially elaborate principled decisions to accelerate socioeconomic development and ensure the active and committed support of the working people for the CPSU's course of restructuring.

The masses must know everything, pass judgment on everything, and tackle everything consciously—this Leninist instruction is still acute and timely. The task of the day dictated by the conference is to completely democratize the process of making decisions of importance for many people, render it open, and extricate it from behind the tightly closed doors of official offices, test each project via the broadest possible discussion, and heed not only all the "pros," but also (and even more attentively!) the "cons." Socialist pluralism of opinions must become an effective instrument guarding our social mechanism against breakdowns and slippage. Moreover, the party—the leading force in our society, which bears particular responsibility to history—is called upon to be an example of initiative in developing glasnost.

The resolution "On Glasnost" adopted by the conference contains proposals on the openness of party forums and meetings, extensive provision of information for Communists and the population concerning the work of leading CPSU organs, local party organizations, and their committees, and the creation of a democratic mechanism for nominating leading cadres based on public opinion. It is envisaged that the members of elected party organs will receive the right to free access to sessions of the bureau accountable to them, including the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and the right to make use of documents, information, and data at the disposal of the party committee and its apparatus. Incidentally, this is a return to the principles formulated by V.I. Lenin.

There is no doubt that all these measures will make us stronger, not weaker, and will serve to consolidate all social forces around the goals of restructuring. Glasnost, criticism, and self-criticism serve the interests of the people, reflect the openness of society's political system, and illustrate its vitality and moral health.

Glasnost is not only a growth vitamin sustaining the social organism. It can also be an extremely bitter pill and even a sharp surgeon's scalpel in those cases where criticism—an inalienable part of glasnost—comes into force. Understandably, criticism is by no means to everyone's liking. Some people want tame, domesticated, metered-out glasnost which is agreeable in every respect. But the point is that there can be no "glasnost by halves" or even "99-percent glasnost." Even the smallest "zone of silence" left on our political, economic, or social map very quickly grows again to global dimensions, this process is uncontrollable, and we can still remember clearly how statistics yearbooks "grew thinner" before our very eyes as more and more sections were declared "secret" and dropped.

The conference proclaimed—and this is of fundamental importance—"every citizen's inalienable right to receive on any question of public life full and authentic information—provided such information is not a state or military secret—and the right to openly and freely discuss any socially significant question." Moreover, it did not merely proclaim this: It deemed it necessary to create legal guarantees for glasnost and to elaborate legislative acts defining the rights and obligations of the state, officials, and citizens with regard to the implementation of the principles of glasnost. The limits of necessary secrecy and official secrets must be clearly defined. A system for providing working people with constant complete information on the state of affairs—ranging from their enterprise to the country as a whole—must be created, juridically enshrining the right of citizens, public organizations, and the mass media to receive without hindrance information of interest to them. The conference demanded that unwarranted restrictions on the use of library stocks be removed, the work of archives be legislatively regulated, and that they be made accessible to researchers.

All these exceptionally important decisions are long overdue and long awaited. But, of course, it would be naive to think that glasnost can be "introduced" by a single resolution, however wonderful. Glasnost itself—the sharp weapon of restructuring—needs to be deepened and supported. Departmental and parochial barriers are still piled up in its path, it comes up against outright administrative resistance, there are still a great many people who like to settle scores with people for "criticism from below," and attempts to express one's own opinion often still arouse grave, benighted suspicion among the adherents of "unanimity." Haste, irresponsibility, and incompetence—the whole range of our shortcomings—are equal enemies of glasnost. We ourselves often do more harm to glasnost than any arrant bureaucrat when some of us show no effort, real knowledge, or strong mind and when we arrogate to ourselves the role of custodians of the truth and judges....

Having understood and realized this, we must today here and now, without wasting a day, implement the party conference decisions and not wait for someone to come and do this for us. "The conference calls upon all Communists and all party organizations," the resolution "On Glasnost" says, "to speak truthfully to the masses, to actively develop socialist democratism and the culture of debate, and create favorable conditions for lively and frank discussion of any questions and for Soviet people to display initiative and creative thought."

Some delegates criticized the press from the rostrum at the conference sharply and in extremely general terms. Of course, we would like this criticism to be more

specific so that each individual case can—for the good of the cause!—be investigated to see whether this criticism is justified. All critical comments voiced at the party conference must be studied thoroughly. Journalists today realize that no one has a monopoly of truth.

"There is no restructuring or democracy without glasnost. Glasnost is the only atmosphere in which democratic, humane socialism can live and progress"—these words come from the party conference resolution. We are now learning to breathe in this atmosphere at meetings and rallies and in newspaper polemics. The result of last year's newspaper and journal subscription campaign was a true nationwide referendum in favor of glasnost: Mailmen's bags are heavier by several million copies. This shows not only a recognition of but an exacting faith in the irreversibility of the process of glasnost.

The affirmation of glasnost is in effect an affirmation of restructuring itself. "The conference views glasnost as a developing process and stresses that its consistent broadening is an invariable condition for expressing the democratic essence of the socialist system and its orientation toward man and for involving the individual in all affairs of society, state, and collective, as an effective guarantee against deformations of socialism on the basis of nationwide monitoring of the activity of all social institutions and organs of power and management."

Youth Daily Apologizes for Error in Interview
PM1907085788 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 88 p 2

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA editorial apology: "We Make Our Apologies"]

[Text] The 17 June issue of our newspaper published a conversation between journalist S. Oganyan and Doctor of Economic Sciences R. Khasbulatov. Reference was made to a report on a Chechen-Ingush CPSU Obkom plenum published in the newspaper GROZNENSKIY RABOCHIY. It emerged after the conversation was published that R. Khasbulatov had made a mistake. The thesis criticized by R. Khasbulatov did not appear in the report published by the newspaper. The editorial office makes its apologies to V.K. Foteyev, first secretary of the Chechen-Ingush party obkom, the newspaper GROZNENSKIY RABOCHIY, and all our readers.

The KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA staffers to blame for the error have been punished by decision of the editorial office.

Trial of Dissident Grigoryants 'Adjourned'
AU1907084988 Paris AFP in English 0843 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 19 (AFP)—The trial of Soviet dissident Sergey Grigoryants arrested Thursday for demonstrating in favor of the disputed enclave Nagorno-Karabakh has been adjourned indefinitely, the dissident bulletin GLASNOST reported Tuesday.

Mr Grigoryants, who is the paper's chief editor, had been summoned by an administrative court Monday, along with three other demonstrators.

Of the 15 people arrested when police broke up the rally, only GLASNOST editor Andrey Shelkov has been sentenced to pay a 50-ruble (80 dollar) fine—one fourth of the average Soviet monthly salary, sources added.

Playwright Restored to Writers Union
LD1507162688 Moscow TASS in English 1551 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 15 TASS—The Secretariat of the Board of the Writers' Union of the USSR has reversed its decision of January 14, 1972, on expelling Aleksandr Galich from that organization, Soviet newspapers reported today.

The name of Galich, a talented poet, songster and playwright who was born in 1919 and died in 1977, was widely known in the Soviet Union in his time.

His scripts were used to make several films and his verses and songs, including satirical ballads that wittily and scathingly exposed negative realities, enjoyed much popularity.

But bureaucrats responsible for culture in the'70s closed the doors to the press and the motion pictures industry before him and then hounded him out of the country for what they considered "seditious" writings.

Galich died in Paris.

With glasnost and democratization being promoted in this country today, his cultural legacy is making a comeback.

The Moscow-based literary journals NOVYY MIR, ZNAMYA, OKTYABR and others recently published selections of his poems.

His play "The Big Land" has just been premiered in Moscow after being written 30 years ago as "A Sailor's Silence" and then banned. It was produced at the studio school of the art theater by actor and stage director Oleg Tabakov.

The Moscow youth troupe Chelovek this season has shown a musical based on Galich's songs and verses.

Orders for Radio Commercials Invited
LD1507104388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0943 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Excerpt] Attention, leaders of enterprises, organizations, sovkhozes and kolkhozes, cooperatives, and persons engaged in individual labor activities!

The chief editorial office of literary and theatrical broadcasting section of the USSR Gosteleradio is taking orders for commercial radio spots to eventually broadcast them on the first and the third programs of all-union radio.

Taking part in the production of commercial radio spots will be professional radio producers, scriptwriters, well-known musicians, and vocalists.

A commercial radio spot produced by the chief editorial office of the literary and theatrical broadcasting section to high artistic and technical standards will be an excellent aid in your activities. The chief editorial office of the literary and theatrical broadcasting section will be happy to have you as its customers. [passage omitted]

Old Ritual Church Celebrates Christian Millenium

LD1807224888 Moscow TASS in English 1706 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 18 TASS—The jubilee holy council of the Russian old-ritualist church headed by Archbishop Alimpiy of Moscow and all Russia opened here today to mark the millennium of the baptism of Russia.

The council participants—representatives of the so-called Belayat Krinitsa diocese and other old ritualist churches—arrived here from various regions of the Soviet Union. The celebrations are being attended by guests from foreign countries.

Old Ritualism (it was once referred to as schism) is a religious social movement which originated in Russia in the middle of the 17th century. Its adherents, separating themselves from the Russian Orthodox Church, explained that by a desire to maintain old rites which had been peculiar to the church prior to Patriarch Nikon's order to correct the church books in accordance with the Greek texts and a number of other reforms. [sentence as received] Several currents, or concords, established themselves in Old Ritualism.

The jubilee celebrations began with a divine service at the Intercession Cathedral. This unique temple was built in 1791 under a project by famous Russian architect Matvey Kazakov.

Prior to the jubilee, a large amount of restoration work had been carried out here with the participation of the best designers. The field of operation was wide: only a description of almost 2,500 icons decorating its walls could make up a multi-volumed monograph. Most icons were painted by artists who lived in the 15th-17th centuries.

Romil Khrustalev, chairman of the church council of the Intercession Cathedral, chairman of the jubilee preparatory committee, said in an interview with TASS correspondent Anna Grigoriyeva on the eve of the celebrations: "We rejoice at the great event the celebration of which has gone far beyond the fold of the Russian Orthodox Church. It is inseparably connected with the life of the Old Ritualist ancient orthodox Christian archdiocese of Novozybkov, Moscow and all Russia as well as with all communities of Old Ritualist Christians functioning in the Baltic and others areas of the Soviet Union."

The council will hear reports dedicated to the historic path traversed by the Russian Orthodox church over the ten centuries. The council will be in session till the end of the week.

This afternoon the participants and guests of the jubilee meeting made a pilgrimage trip to the Trinity—St. Sergius Laura in Zagorsk which is deeply revered not only by believers of the Russian Orthodox Church but by Old Ritualists as well. They rendered worship to the relics of St. Sergius of Radonezh, the founder of the monastery, and to those of Maksim the Greek.

World Peace Council Honors Patriarch Pimen

WA1800044l Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by A. Ivanko and G. Charodeyev: "An Award for Patriarch Pimen"]

[Text] By 1800 hours on 2 June dozens of journalists had gathered at the new residence of Pimen, Most Holy Patriarch of Moscow and of All Russia, in the St. Danilo Monastery. They were eagerly awaiting the arrival of a delegation from the World Peace Council (WPC).

...The motorcade drove up to the residence. Within a few minutes a formal ceremony began in the Throne-Room. WPC President Romesh Chandra presented Patriarch Pimen with the Council's highest award—the Frederic Joliot-Curie Peace Medal. The patriarch had merited it in connection with the Millenium of Russia's Acceptance of Christianity, as well as for his enormous contribution to the cause of serving peace.

"This medal," said R. Chandra in his presentation speech, "is awarded to you for your active participation in the peace movement. The Russian Orthodox Church has always been on the side of those who struggle to avert war."

Patriarch Pimen was congratulated on his receipt of this high award by members of the WPC—former Mexican President L. Echeverria and former Portuguese President C. Gomes. The latter stated:

"Nowadays the people of this planet are striving to avert the most dreadful thing—war. All people of good will should combine their efforts in the struggle for peace."

The Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and of All Russia, spoke:

"We are extremely gratified that the manifestation of this high consideration has occurred on the eve of the start of the official ceremonies dedicated to the Millenium of Russia's Acceptance of Christianity—a great event in our country's history and in the development of the culture of the whole world. Over the course of the thousand-year history of its existence the Russian Orthodox Church has always been full of concern and has performed zealous labor for the good of the Fatherland, for God's people, and for strengthening peace and justice in relations between peoples. In continuing its peacemaking services, our church is striving to do everything within its power to free the Earth from the obscenity of nuclear weapons and to preserve the wholeness of God's creation. We have a long and difficult path ahead of us, but it is a blessed path and one of salvation. I assure you," said Patriarch Pimen in conclusion, "that as the Russian Orthodox Church enters upon a new period of its existence, it will not slacken its efforts in the struggle for a firm, just, and universal peace."

Gas Cloud Escape at Chemical Fire in Moscow

LD1307212088 Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] A fire has broken out at a Moscow factory, after rain water leaked into a vessel with a chemical substance at a store and started a chemical reaction. A cloud of gas has escaped. Emergency measures were taken to prepare for a possible evacuation of the people from the nearby buildings, but the threat was removed soon. No one has been injured.

Briefs

New Moscow Newspaper

The first edition of the newspaper COOPERATIVE BULLETIN [VESTNIK KOOPERATORA] has appeared in Moscow. It will publish specialized advice on various points of economy and law, as well as material dealing with the organization of bookkeeping, consumer surveys, and other topics. In short, the new bulletin will provide good assistance to members of cooperatives and to people engaged in individual labor activity. [Text] *[LD1607012088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1310 GMT 15 Jul 88]*

Economic

Belov Notes Soviet Economy Being 'Put Right'

LD2107180388 Moscow TASS in English 1713 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—Soviet economic performance in the first six months of the year is evidence that the socio-economic situation in the country has begun to be put right, a senior Soviet economic official said here today.

Nikolay Belov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee on Statistics, was commenting on the results of social and economic development in January through June at the Foreign Ministry's Press Center.

He said key production targets were achieved and worker productivity rose 5.5 percent.

The economy was increasingly geared to supplying social needs, with consumer goods production during the six months growing 50 percent faster than producer goods manufacture.

Factories that had switched over to the pay-your-own-way system fared generally better than those which are only yet to go self-financing, a fact bearing out that the economic reform is basically correct, Belov pointed out.

Overall industrial production grew 4.7 percent, but the engineering sector, including such priority areas as electronics and machine-tool building, fell short of planned targets and were too slow to modernize their facilities.

Belov said also that incomes per family member went up five percent.

A welcome change for the better was registered in housing construction which coped with the half-year plan.

Foreign Trade Half-Year Figures

LD2107180788 Moscow TASS in English 1722 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—Soviet foreign economic activities continue to be streamlined but the pace could have been faster, a senior Soviet official said here today.

Nikolay Belov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee on Statistics, was speaking at a briefing for reporters at the Foreign Ministry's Press Center.

He said the right to deal directly with foreign markets has been granted to 25 Soviet ministries and economic agencies and 77 amalgamations and factories. Their share in total Soviet foreign trade stands at 18 percent in exports and 28 percent in imports.

A total of 66 joint ventures and 18 associations with foreign involvement have been set up in the country.

Its combined foreign trade in January-June 1988, according to Belov, amounted to 66.5 billion roubles, which is five percent more than in the first six months of last year, with exports going up three percent and imports seven percent.

Exports of engineering products, however, showed only insignificant growth and the bulk of the sales abroad was made up of fuel.

Answering a related question from a correspondent for the CHICAGO TRIBUNE, Belov said special government measures are being prepared to make sure that the share of manufactures in Soviet exports will grow faster.

Council of Ministers Discusses Economic Issues

PM2107125188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "At USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] A session of the USSR Council of Ministers was held 20 July. The following questions were examined:

The results of the fulfillment of the state plan for the economic and social development of the USSR and of the USSR State Budget for the first half of 1988;

The progress in fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decisions on the retooling of light industry and the production of modern, highly productive equipment for enterprises of this sector;

The progress in fulfilling the USSR Council of Ministers 5 May 1987 resolution "Questions of the USSR Union of Theatrical Workers."

Yu.D. Maslyukov, chairman of the USSR Gosplan, and B.I. Gostev, USSR minister of finances, delivered reports on the first question. Discussing these reports, the USSR Council of Ministers, guided by the decisions, conclusions, and assessments of the 19th all-union party conference on the intensification of restructuring, the consistent implementation of a radical economic reform, and the democratization of all spheres of the life of society, comprehensively analyzed the state of affairs in the national economy and adopted relevant decisions.

The main plan targets for the 6 months have been fulfilled. Compared with the same period last year the volume of industrial production has increased 4.7 percent against the calculated 4.2 percent for the 1988 plan. Contract commitments for deliveries of output were fulfilled 99.3 percent (for the first half of 1987 the figure was 98.1 percent). The sectors of the fuel and energy and metallurgical complexes worked stably. The production and procurements of stockraising output increased. Throughout the country as a whole procurements of livestock and poultry increased 5 percent and milk procurements increased 6 percent. Public transport mainly ensured the national economy's shipments requirements.

The session stressed the fundamentally important significance of the growth of the role of intensive factors of social production. In the first 6 months of the year the entire increase in the national income and industrial and agricultural output and the volume of work in construction and transport was achieved by raising labor productivity with an overall reduction in the number of those employed in the material production sphere.

The production of consumer goods in industry began to outstrip the production of the means of production: The growth rate for group "B" output was 50 percent greater than the group "A" production growth rate. The retail trade turnover plan was fulfilled. The target for the volume of sales of paid services to the population was overfulfilled. The 6-month plan for housing construction was overfulfilled 13 percent and 35.3 million square meters of living area were commissioned.

At the same time the session expressed concern over the fact that the state of affairs in the national economy is improving only slowly, and the creation of the necessary prerequisites for effecting a fundamental breakthrough in economic and social development is not being properly ensured. Many ministries and departments of the USSR and the union republic councils of ministers have so far been unable to master economic methods of management, have failed to alter their style of work under the conditions of the operation of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) and the intensifying democratization of all public life, and have failed to render the necessary practical aid to enterprises and associations during the transition to new conditions of economic management. Frequently the labor collectives of enterprises and associations have also failed to display persistence and activeness in using their broad rights and potential.

The national income produced increased 5 percent compared with the first half of 1987, with a target of 6.6 percent for 1988. Some 14 percent of associations and enterprises failed to cope with contract commitments and were responsible for an output delivery shortfall of R2.7 billion. Less industrial output was produced than planned. The state of affairs remains tense in capital construction, many targets for commissioning production capacities and establishments in the sociocultural sphere were not fulfilled, and the volumes of uncompleted construction increased. Decisive factors of stable economic growth like scientific and technical progress and resource saving are being put into operation only slowly. The balance between the population's money incomes and expenditure has not been ensured. The financial situation of many enterprises remains precarious.

It is alarming that in June this year there was a marked reduction in the pace of the development of the agro-industrial complex and the construction materials industry. This has complicated still further the population's provision with food and construction materials. The explanations from USSR ministers Ye.I. Sizenko, S.F. Voyenushkin, and Ye.A. Barnachev, who tried to use objective reasons to justify the reduction of the production pace, were deemed by the USSR Council of Ministers to be utterly unsatisfactory. These leaders have been warned of their personal responsibility for the results of the work of the sectors assigned to them.

The USSR Government suggested to its permanent organs, to the USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairmen, the USSR ministers and department leaders, and

union republic councils of ministers' chairmen that they carefully investigate the reasons for the major omissions and shortcomings in work in the first half of the year and, proceeding from the instructions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, that they implement specific measures to considerably improve the standard of economic management in all sectors of the economy and at enterprises and associations. It pointed to the need to pay all-around attention to the creation of conditions for developing enterprises' initiative and independence, the widespread introduction of economically accountable [khozraschetnyye] relations, and the flexible use of various forms of collective and leasing contract and various types of cooperatives and individual labor activity. In connection with the fact that many industrial and construction enterprises have allowed the wages growth rate to outstrip the labor productivity increase rate, the task has been set of resolutely stepping up control over the correspondence between the increase in the remuneration of labor and the results of labor.

The USSR Council of Ministers session stressed the urgent need for the immediate solution of vital problems of the people's welfare and above all the attainment of substantial improvement in food supplies for the population. The USSR Government assessed as unsatisfactory in this respect the activity of the Gosagroprom, the Ministry of Grain Products, the Ministry of the Fish Industry, the USSR Ministry of Trade, and the union republic councils of ministers, and pointed to the fact that they are restructuring their work on the solution of this most acute socioeconomic problem only extremely slowly.

There was a thorough examination of the state of affairs with regard to the production of consumer goods. Light industry underfulfilled the target for the first half of the year by R0.6 billion (in retail prices). Here it was stressed particularly keenly that the "washing out" of cheap goods from production was continuing. The quality of many articles, particularly those produced in the republics of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus, fails to satisfy consumers. The attention of the USSR Gosplan and other economic organs was drawn to the fact that to this day no effective economic mechanism has been created which would counter these negative tendencies.

Those taking part in the session and those who spoke in the debates noted that trade continues to be short of meat products, fish goods, and individual types of groats, dairy and confectionery items, and fruit and vegetable products. The population's demand for sewn and knitted articles, leather footwear, woollen textiles, washing and sewing machines, furniture, wallpaper, and various types of construction materials is not being fully met.

The session sharply criticized the work of the soviet and economic organs of a number of regions where due initiative and enterprise is not being displayed in saturating the market with goods and services. In particular this criticism was leveled against the councils of ministers of the Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Turkmenia, where plans for retail trade turnover are not being fulfilled, and against the councils of ministers of the Uzbek SSR and Tajik SSR, which are failing to cope with targets for the sale of paid services to the population.

The lag in the production of goods and the rendering of paid services and the shortcomings in organizing trade are leading to the point where difficulties in satisfying the population's priority needs are being aggravated in many republics, krays, and oblasts, which is giving rise to numerous justified reproaches.

In the opinion of the USSR Government, attention toward the creation of the sociocultural sphere's material base has been slackened, and this can be seen from the following: The commissioning of schools declined 22 percent compared with the first half of last year, the commissioning of vocational and technical colleges declined 32 percent, of preschool institutions 6 percent, and of polyclinics 16 percent. The USSR Council of Ministers bureau for social development, the USSR Gosstroy, and the union republic councils of ministers have been instructed to place these questions under strict control.

The USSR Gosstroy and construction ministries and the union republic councils of ministers were criticized for failing to fulfill plans for commissioning production capacities and for increasing the volume of uncompleted construction. The explanations given by USSR Minister L.A. Bibin, first deputy chairman of Gosstroy, were deemed unfounded and not in accordance with present-day requirements. The attention of the Gosstroy and USSR Gosplan was drawn to the fact that even in this very important sphere of the national economy no economic mechanism has been elaborated to ensure an increase in the effectiveness of capital construction, and the positive experience accumulated, including experience accumulated in the Belorussian SSR, is not being used. The relevant instructions were given on this question.

The speeches by the session's participants showed that resource saving has not yet become a decisive factor in increasing production efficiency and the materials intensiveness of output is intolerably high. The new economic mechanism is so far providing only a feeble incentive to the saving of material resources. The attention of the Gosplan, USSR Gossnab, and other leaders was drawn to this. Considering that proposals are now being prepared for the further improvement of the economic mechanism, they have been asked to pay special attention to this aspect of the matter.

One of the most burning problems of today and tomorrow is the conservation of the environment and natural resources. To resolve it it is essential to use an entire package of measures, including economic and administrative ones. The situation shows that for all the importance and acuteness of this problem it is being blatantly

underestimated: The limit on this year's capital investments on nature conservation measures has been assimilated only 39 percent while the 6-month plan for commissioning sewage treatment installations have been fulfilled by less than half.

The USSR Council of Ministers stressed the fundamental importance of a socioeconomic development of national territories which combines the interests of all nations and ethnic groups with the country's common interests and ensures the consolidation of socialist internationalism. The USSR Gosplan and the union republic councils of ministers have been instructed to observe these requirements unswervingly in their practical activity.

Considering that paramount importance for the precise and harmonious functioning of the national economy is attached to the prompt conclusion of economic contracts for 1989, the USSR ministries and departments, union republic councils of ministers, and associations and enterprises have been asked to activate this work by every means. This is all the more important in that the state order will have limited dimensions in forming next year's plan.

Reports from N.V. Talyzin, I.S. Belousov, and I.S. Silayev, the leaders of standing organs of the USSR Council of Ministers, were heard on the question of the progress in fulfilling CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decisions on the retooling of light industry and the production of modern highly productive equipment for the enterprises of this sector.

The data cited in the reports attest that the retooling, modernization, and construction of light industry enterprises are being implemented extremely slowly. This is a manifestation of the blatant underestimation of the economic and social importance of the accelerated development of the production of consumer goods for the improvement of people's living standard and the success of the entire cause of restructuring.

The machine building complex and the complex of the defense sectors which have been assigned the task of producing equipment for the light industry have treated without proper responsibility the fulfillment of the targets envisaged by the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers. These industrial sectors' scientific, design, and production potential has to this day not been aimed at accelerating the creation and assimilation of the production of extremely necessary modern types of manufacturing equipment. The USSR Ministry of Machine Building, the Ministry of the Aviation Industry, the Ministry of the Defense Industry, the Ministry of General Machine Building, the Ministry of the Automotive Industry, and the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building have allowed a large lag in organizing the production of equipment, including under purchased licenses. The Ministry of Construction in the Northern and Western Regions of the USSR, the Ministry of Construction in the Southern Regions of the USSR, the Ministry of Construction in the Eastern Regions of the USSR, and the construction organizations of the Councils of Ministers of the Azerbaijan, Turkmen, Georgian, and Uzbek SSR's are regularly underfulfilling the plans for the construction of light industry establishments.

The USSR Ministry of Light Industry and the union republic councils of ministers are providing only extremely feeble backup for the use of production capacities already created in the sector. Shortcomings in the sector's work are also explained to a considerable extent by the fact that the necessary attention is not being paid to the creation of normal working and daily living conditions for workers in light industry associations and enterprises.

Having assessed critically the progress of the sector's retooling, the Council of Ministers drew the attention of USSR ministers B.M. Belousov, V.Kh. Doguzhiyev, A.A. Yezhevskiy, V.M. Lukyanenko, N.A. Panichev, N.A. Pugin, A.S. Systsov, P.V. Finogenov, and V.I. Shimko to the disruptions allowed in the production of modern equipment and obliged them to take steps to very rapidly eliminate the lag in fulfilling the set targets.

The USSR Council of Ministers has demanded that the Gosstroy, the USSR Ministry of Light Industry, and the union republic councils of ministers take steps to improve the organization of the construction of light industry establishments, to reduce its duration, and to make effective use of resources and that they pay special attention to the completeness of the installation of production and sociocultural establishments. The task has also been set of assimilating all new capacities commissioned in the sector within strictly normative deadlines.

The state commission and USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for machine building and the USSR Ministry of Light Industry have been instructed to substantially improve the coordination of the work of all USSR ministries and departments and the union republic councils of ministers in fulfilling the set targets connected with retooling light industry and implementing the program to assimilate the production of highly productive equipment and to deliver it to the sector and also to resolutely increase exactingness in this matter in order to begin the mass retooling of the country's light industry very soon.

The session heard a report from N.V. Talyzin, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development, and announcements from the chairmen of the boards of the USSR and RSFSR unions of theatrical workers, K.Yu. Lavrov and M.A. Ulyanov respectively, on the progress in fulfilling the USSR Council of Ministers resolution "questions of the USSR Union of Theatrical Workers." The resolution which was adopted gives instructions to the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development, the union republic councils of

ministers, the Ministry of Culture, and other USSR ministries and departments to take additional steps for the speediest fulfillment of the targets outlined in the resolution for developing the production base of the USSR Union of Theatrical Workers and for ensuring appropriate conditions for its fruitful activity in the interests of developing theatrical art and multinational Soviet culture as a whole.

Yu.D. Maslyukov and N.V. Talyzin, candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, and CPSU Central Committee Secretary A.P. Biryukova took part in the work of the USSR Council of Ministers session.

N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chaired the session and delivered a speech.

Academician Bogomolov Assesses Economic Reform
PM1907102088 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Academician O. Bogomolov article under the rubric "Economic Reform—The Basis of Restructuring": "Goods and Money: The Problems of Creating a Socialist Market"]

[Text] For a long time it was thought that the market is alien to socialism. And although its laws had their effects, forcing their way through, so to speak, from underground, the task of comprehending them was not set, still less that of using them for planned social progress. The time has now come to revive market relations, normal trade that fights for customers, economically justified prices and wages, and a healthy money supply. And first and foremost it is necessary to bring the consumer market into smooth running order.

The party conference resolution "On the Course of Implementation of the 27th CPSU Congress Decisions and Tasks in Deepening Restructuring" notes the tension that persists in the supply of food and consumer goods. It also says that the population's demand for services is not being satisifed.

It is hard to grow accustomed to the disastrous state of the consumer market over the decades, the constant shortages and waiting lines, rationing, constantly rising prices, the extremely meager product mix, under-the-counter trading, and cheating and deception of the customer. The consumer market is a mirror of the economy, an important indicator of its final output, and therefore its state cannot but act as a sensitive barometer of restructuring.

Of course, it may be said that we produce too little, too poorly—hence the poverty of the market; as soon as we put things to rights, matters will improve. That is only partly true. Many countries could be named which have "per capita" output approximately corresponding to ours or even lower, but which have at the same time a market that is fully supplied with goods and services and real money that can be exchanged for the necessary goods at any time. Therefore here the working day is not artificially prolonged by the time spent waiting in line, there is no problem over "getting hold of" necessary goods, and the structure of people's consumption is formed in the optimum manner depending on the level of income. The consumer has social weight, an autonomous voice in the market, they take account of him, they respect him. That is what leads a number of economists to believe that bringing the disordered market into a state of equilibrium and saturating it with goods and services means a substantial improvement in the quality and standard of the population's life (by up to 50 percent), even if real monetary income remains at the former level.

We find the sight of foreign supermarkets or department stores stunning. I will not dispute that not everyone there can afford what is on sale; the prices of certain goods "sting," and inflation continues. The poor are satisfied with the minimum. All that is true, but still money acts here as a real purchasing means in everyone's hands, and the economy does not lose incentives.

The economic reform we are carrying out could run aground on the ineffectiveness of Soviet money. What is the point of seeking to increase your wages through more productive and better quality labor, if it is difficult or even impossible to be sure of realizing the surplus over and above what goes on day-to-day, sometimes very simple needs? It is not easy to dress well or obtain a pass for a sanatorium, boarding house, or leisure center, it is even more difficult to buy a car, even if you have savings, it is very difficult for a city dweller to acquire or build housing with his own money or buy a dacha, and very few can go on a tourist trip abroad. Good medical services are also a problem. It is these needs which act as a powerful motive stimulating people to improve their skills and the output of their labor. Satisfying these needs promotes the spiritual and moral improvement of the individual and gives a powerful boost to economic and social progress. Unfortunately, in our country many of the aforementioned goods and services are very poorly represented in market circulation, and they are distributed mainly through administrative channels, often without a direct link with people's labor input. However, even if they were sold freely, as yet the opportunities for the majority of working people honestly to earn the necessary sums are not great. Wage padding and wage leveling suffocate them.

The question why our consumer is so deprived, why prices rise and money loses its value, has a painful answer. Not because the state has an interest in it (on the contrary), not because exceptional disasters afflicted us or there was no alternative, but because a most important aspect of economic life fell outside planning control and regulation, and indeed that regulation was itself

often based on false premises. We are finding it hard to rid ourselves of the illusion that in our economy everything is planned. It is true that plans are regularly drawn up and approved, but life often goes its own way.

The impression is created that there is not yet an integrated view of the problem. The press animatedly discusses the possible reform of retail prices, but says less about budgetary and monetary disequilibrium, which disorganizes the market and makes it necessary to increase prices and taxes. From time to time individual ideas are put forward—for instance, buying a large quantity of additional consumer goods abroad. I think it is time to study all the options and draw up a plan of action, with wide public participation.

Logic suggests that the main condition for normalization of the market is a constant increase in the supply of goods and services. But it is equally important steadily to reduce the budget deficit and the unsupported issuing of paper money which is used to cover up the gaps in the Gosbank's cash balance. Finally, strict control of monetary payments to the population is needed. Not by means of the artificial, leveling methods of restraining or reducing them by increasing prices and taxes, but by regulating them in such a way as to bring wages and bonuses into line with the real national economic return on labor and the improvement of its quality and productivity. The best way to achieve this is consistent, full economic accountability.

We are weighed down by the burden of economic problems and disproportions that have accumulated over the decades, which was spoken of very clearly at the party conference. But it is important to cut short unfavorable trends and change the thrust of development as soon as possible.

The most serious consequences arise from the lack of correlation that has grown up over the years between sectors of the economy working to satisfy the population's demands, and industry that produces the means of production. The imbalance that has developed here is among the fundamental disproportions of our economy.

Rectifying the situation should begin with agriculture, where abandoning command and decree methods of management, reviving truly cooperative forms, and introducing the family and lease contract and market regulation can, as the experience of a number of socialist countries shows, lead in a short time literally to a leap forward in agricultural production and productivity, without substantial additional capital investments. Of course, it is more difficult in our conditions to stimulate a proprietorial attitude to the land, ensure freedom for the producer, overcome his distrust, and ultimately teach him to do more conscientious work than it is, say, in China. People have forgotten all this too long ago. But the potential for revival is still there, as a larger and larger number of examples shows. It seems to be only a question of ridding agriculture of the administrative-bureaucratic superstructure that has hitherto fettered it and introducing primarily market regulation on the basis of contracts and firmly established taxes.

The upsurge of agriculture will boost the development of state, cooperative, and individual trade, as well as industrial processing of food products and light industry. The domestic market will be enriched and the treasury will be replenished through revenue in the form of hard cash, real money with a solid backing. I think we lose a great deal through the half-heartedness of measures in this sphere.

Light industry has always been the Cinderella of our planning. In the distribution of capital investments, currency, and types of raw materials and equipment in short supply, its voice did not have the same weight as the leading sectors of heavy or defense industry. The "leftover" principle operated. At the same time it is well known from economic practice at home and abroad that large accumulations are usually created in this sphere and investments are recouped most rapidly here. So the more developed this sector is, the greater the opportunities for using some of the surplus product created here for the needs of the entire national economy, by means of redistribution through the budget. But moderation is necessary. Grabbing everything or nearly everything, as we used to do, means narrowing the base for further economic growth.

It is time for a radical change in the attitude toward light industry, and, incidentally, to the production of household equipment and cars. The resolution adopted recently on doubling the capacities of light industry in the next few years merits every possible approval. The sector which satisfies the population's effective demand should have the potential for self-development out of the "real" money that it earns (after the deduction of taxes and other payments, naturally). The economic mechanism here should be similar to that being introduced with regard to the cooperatives (with state control, however, over quality standards, pricing rules, and the prices of the most important goods). And workers must be paid out of income on the basis of their output, without the application of any artificial limitations. After all, this ruble income has real commodity backup on our market and therefore, far from increasing inflation, actually restrains it. Naturally, this applies to income from real sales of goods, not from deliveries of unsalable goods to the warehouse.

In general terms, the ruble made from the sale of goods and services to the population should have more favorable, broader conditions of use than all other forms of money in bank accounts, particularly for cash payments. That would provide an incentive for the suppliers of raw materials and equipment for sectors and production units working for the consumer market.

It is justified to regroup capital investments and existing machine building capacities in the interests of considerably expanding the output of cars. There is a major famine in the car market, yet the income to be earned from this sector, including income for the budget, is among the greatest, and it earns currency too.

Certain new items should also be incorporated in trade circulation. One of these was spoken of at the conference. I refer to the support expressed in the report for the idea of granting citizens the right to buy from the state the apartments they occupy, with the right to hand them down by way of inheritance. And, incidentally, we learned from the speeches in the debates on the report that in Kazakhstan it is the practice to sell apartments for cash. That could help lessen the pressure on the market for some of the surplus money.

The question of land also arises. Every hectare suitable for economic use should bring income to the whole of society, to which it belongs. Therefore lease payments for land depending on its quality, location, and transport provision are justified. Deserted, neglected land is a clear loss to the people's pocket. But even this land, because of bureaucratic obstacles, is very difficult to acquire for building a dacha or cultivating an orchard or truck farm. Yet in a number of socialist countries the long-term leasing and even sale of plots of land for such purposes are the practice, and this is in no way contrary to the essence of socialism.

The situation on the consumer market is, of course, highly dependent on the burden borne by the economy in connection with the need to ensure reliable defense of the country. Guns and missiles are, unfortunately, always instead of butter. But by seeking military-strategic parity and allowing ourselves to be drawn into the arms race, we acquired a particularly heavy defense burden. The gross national income of the Warsaw Pact countries is only two-fifths of the NATO countries' income, and arms parity means that they spend approximately identical sums on this. Hence it follows that for the Warsaw Pact countries defense accounts for a proportion of the national income that is 2.5 times greater than the proportion in the NATO countries.

An opportunity is now opening up to save substantial resources in order to improve the situation on the consumer market and cover the budget deficit. Particular mention should be made of the latter. It gives rise to inflation, which intensifies the market disorders. Overfilling the circulation channels with paper money leads to increases uncontrolled by the state in the prices of goods and services, and to the exacerbation of shortages. Regardless of the peculiarities of the way in which it is manifested, in our country, too, inflation has the consequence of reducing the population's purchasing power—that is, it acts as an invisible additional tax. Mechanisms for compensating for inflation losses have yet to be created.

There is no need to demonstrate that without overcoming the deficit in the budget and the Gosbank's cash balance (balance of ready money), and therefore the issuing of paper money without backing, the consumer market cannot be brought into equilibrium. Although we write on treasury notes that they are backed up by the entire property of the state, in fact they are backed up only by the goods that exist on the market. Hence the constant temptation to increase the prices of those goods and thereby replenish the state's coffers. The antidote is well known—real democratic control of the drawing up and execution of the budget and the cash plan.

A means of normalizing finances that is acceptable to society is the cutting of nonproductive expenditure. Here there are considerable opportunities for savings—on administrative spending, on many major construction sites, on subsidies to loss-making production units. Another sound method is to increase income by means of expanding effective (profitable) economic activity. The main function of the finance and credit system is to help to earn money and thus increase tax revenue, not to seize earnings down to the last kopek.

Everything we know thus far about the price reform that is in preparation suggests that it will spur on the increase in prices for goods and services, uncontrolled by the state. The threat of growing inflation, as the experience of Hungary, Poland, and China warns, requires a particularly cautious and gradual approach to the implementation of reforms. It is no use fostering too many illusions about the possibility of putting the consumer market in order by increasing prices. The revision of retail prices, and in particular the transition to contractual and free prices for a number of goods, can only produce the necessary social result as part of the totality of other measures to normalize the consumer market.

Anti-inflationary measures are today acquiring exceptional importance, because negative processes in the sphere of money circulation affect the interests of the majority of the population. It is time to introduce strict rules for the emission of money and the issuing of bank credits in order to cover up the deficiencies in state finances. Information about this should be available to the public. It is necessary to step up Supreme Soviet monitoring of all items of state expenditure and adopt any given means of regulating the budget and cash deficit only with its consent.

Economist Rumyantsev Comments on Reform

AU1907105788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Jul 88 p 2

["AL"-signed report: "Topical Tasks of Soviet Economy"]

[Text] Prague (Our Correspondent)—At a press conference in Prague on Wednesday [13 July], Aleksey Rumyantsev, prominent Soviet economist and professor of the CPSU Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences in Moscow, said that the main purpose of the

revolutionary changes in the USSR is the renewal of socialism—of its economic base, as well as of the political and ideological superstructure.

He spoke about the past Soviet reforms in the years 1965 (which was partially successful), 1973, and 1979, which failed above all because they were only partial and incomprehensive, limited only to certain specific economic problems.

Professor Rumyantsev further spoke about the contemporary economic reform in the USSR in the light of the recent 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Radical proposals were submitted in the debate at the conference, on the one hand for the total abolition of central management, leaving unlimited scope for market forces, and, on the other hand, for the preservation of central management with certain adjustments. However, the absolute majority of the participants in the debate favored a balanced continuation of the reform in the existing spirit, A. Rumyantsev said, and then, in an extensive and frank discussion, took a stand on all current problems of the Soviet national economy.

CPSU Secretary Views Manufacturing Equipment

PM1507141988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jul 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Increasing Output of Modern Equipment"]

[Text] O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the Savelovskoye "Progress" Production Association in Kimry, Kalinin Oblast, 14 July, where he familiarized himself with the progress of the work to create and produce new purpose-built manufacturing equipment.

Measures to further improve the features and enhance the technical standard and reliability of the machine tools, equipment, and measuring and monitoring instruments under development were discussed. Their implementation will make it possible to create highly effective technological processes in producing these items, to make extensive use of composites in structures, and to produce aircraft equipment that matches modern demands.

In conversations with workers and specialists the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee asked how the collective was involving itself in the implementation of the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, how restructuring is proceeding, how glasnost and democratization are developing, whether due attention is being paid to the resolution of food, social, and consumer questions, and what is being done to implement more rapidly the transformations outlined by the conference.

O.D. Baklanov was accompanied by O.S. Belyakov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee department, and A.S. Systsov, USSR minister of the aviation industry.

Agricultural

1 Million Hectares of Grain Scorched in Saratov

LD2107135288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Harvesting of grain is being conducted in difficult drought conditions by sovkhoz and kolkhoz farmers in Saratov Oblast. The temperature in the steppe areas of the Trans-Volga has reached 40 degrees [Celsius] for the second month in succession. Crops have been scorched on 1 million hectares of the bread grain area. Grains remain to be harvested from 2 million hectares. Every minute is valuable.

RSFSR Feed Procurement 'Slower Than Last Year'

PM2007151988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Jul 88 Single Edition p 1

[F. Seleznev commentary under general headline "Through Skill and Numbers Alike. The Pace of Feed Procurement in Russia's Fields and Meadows Is Still Slower Than Last Year"]

[Text] Our Commentary [subhead]

Russia's feed acreage is large. Sown feed crops alone occupy 42 million hectares, or 1 in 3 hectares of arable land. Add to this the more than 90 million hectares of natural meadow and pasture and you can work out that there are more than 2 hectares of grass per head of cattle. This is a tremendous asset, but it is by no means fully exploited. Qualitative changes in the feed land situation have begun to be implemented only in recent years. Thus, for instance, the area occupied by high-protein perennial grasses has been enlarged, the borderline of the cultivation of grain corn has shifted further north with the emergence of early and midseason ripening hybrids, and rape is occupying increasingly large areas. This, in addition to the introduction of the team contract and intensive techniques, has helped to increase feed procurement per nominal head of livestock by 20 percent over 2 years of the last 5-year plan [as published].

So there has been a change for the better, but it is still a long way off meeting the targets of the Food Program.

This means that the pace of current procurement work must be sharply stepped up. However, in practical terms this work is so far proceeding more slowly even than last year. Only in terms of hay is it slightly ahead of last year. As for individual oblasts and autonomous republics-....During a recent telephone conference at the RSFSR Agroprom, serious criticism was leveled at the Mordovian ASSR—the local feed procurement plan has been fulfilled less than 8 percent—but instead of adopting appropriate measures, the people at the autonomous republic agroprom are trying to work out how much feed they should request from the state. The picture is the same in Kostroma Oblast. Tambov, Kuybyshev, Kemerovo, and Kurgan Oblasts and Krasnoyarsk Kray are also

lagging. In Krasnoyarsk Kray, to make matters worse, a large gap has been allowed to form between the cutting and stacking of hay. This has led to a sharp drop in its quality and is causing tremendous irreplaceable losses. Bad organization also abounds in other oblasts. A report from Kursk, published today, bears this out.

So, what are the reasons? Have the feed procurement workers come up against some kind of absolutely insurmountable difficulties? It is true, of course, that the weather is presenting many problems, but literally in every area there are farms which are managing successfully. This serves to prove once again that good organization and skill are capable of overcoming climatic difficulties no matter what they are.

Agro-Industrial Complex Harvesting Tasks Viewed
PM2107112588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial under the "Harvest-88" rubric: "Preserve the Crop!"]

[Text] The colors of the land are many and varied now. Meadows in flower, the gold of ripe grainfields, the scent of orchards, velvety black plowland. But alarming tinges also impinge upon this picture: Flooded tracts of grain, resembling paddies, in Stavropol and Kuban, incessant rains over hay land that rot the hay, and steppes that have cracked from the intense heat. You cannot describe the situation in the fields of a number of oblasts, republics, and regions as anything but complex. The entire material and technical might of the agro-industrial complex and the creative potential of its cadres must be mobilized to gather the harvest and increase the quantity and improve the quality as far as possible. It is a matter of honor for grain growers to fulfill their first commandment and do their utmost to supplement the country's food resources.

Life and practice show that no situation is hopeless. Many machine operators and specialists in the Ukraine, the North Caucasus, and the Chernozem area are literally wresting the harvest from the bad weather. Combines have been equipped with double-tire wheels and caterpillar tracks and grain is being mown by hand in flooded low-lying areas. On-the-spot threshing, at present the most suitable method, is being carried out. Grain driers at farms and grain reception enterprises are working to full capacity; grain and straw and stubble are proceeding smoothly to granaries and livestock units respectively. Progressive drying and silage-making methods are helping livestock units in the Orel area to procure feed in any weather. The best experts in Kazakhstan and the Volga region have countered the elements with soil-protecting agricultural practices. They are making careful and effective use of every drop of irrigation water. Experience illustrates that under complex conditions collectives that have assimilated economic accountability [khozraschet] and various forms of contract, above all the lease contract, cope more confidently. The state of their crops is better and the inclement weather conditions are overcome more successfully in harvesting. Independence and greater interest in the end results have an impact.

The elements have caused crop farmers many problems. However, it must not be forgotten that it is only the middle of summer. A great deal can be done if we don't indulge in vain hopes but make use of all our reserves and possibilities. It is impossible to understand some leaders of farms, rayons, and oblasts who are in the habit of rushing to "grab the telephone" to announce as loudly as possible before anyone else the blows struck by the elements, sometimes exaggerating the scale and consequences. This practice has an understandable purpose: to avoid participating in output sales and drum up a few more funds to protect against the flood, drought, or the hail damage. Thus, they often cover up their organizational feebleness, inertia, and irresponsibility. When assessing the state of affairs in a particular region it is necessary to determine objectively and strictly how exhaustive, timely, and professionally competent the steps to ensure a high return from the fields and to save the harvest were. What can be done in the remaining time to compensate for the losses? The country's resources are not infinite. When applying for additional aid it is the task of every leader to comprehensively examine the need for this option, economically justify it, and weigh it up from the viewpoint of party and civic conscience.

At such a complex time the agro-industrial complex especially needs help from its partners. Restocking the countryside with harvesters, irrigation equipment, other machines, mechanisms, and equipment, and feed preservatives will enable the harvest and all the standing crop in the fields to be brought in more rapidly and the fields to be prepared, where possible, for reaped sowing. Alas, as before, one must mention the failure to supply farms with spare parts, for instance, for grain harvesting combines, above all the "Don-1500," and failure to provide transport and fuel. The delivery times, quantity, quality, and range of mineral fertilizers cannot please the crop farmers. The leaders of industrial enterprises, ministries, and departments must fully realize their personal involvement in the fate of the harvest. Special responsibility is borne by the people who ship, store, process, and sell the output from fields, orchards, and truck gardens. It is no secret that sometimes up to one-third of this output is lost in transit. Losses must be reduced as much as possible, thus substantially supplementing our food resources.

The Tsentrosoyuz and the entire system of consumer cooperatives has a big role here. This year, too, the harvests of fruits, berries, vegetables, and potatoes on personal plots, collective orchards, and truck gardens are considerable. What if you add nature's gifts to this? Today cooperative workers have been given great economic incentives and levers. By making skillful use of

them it is possible to successfully arrange the harvesting, processing, storage, and sale of output and organize livestock fattening using waste products.

Preserving the crop is not only a matter of protecting it but also of preparing the ground for a breakthrough in the fields and livestock units next year. This means making good preparations for the fall sowing and carrying it out at the best time. It is important for there to be a plentiful supply of high-quality seed everywhere and to ensure that the basic livestock population is preserved and that high productivity is secured from the entire herd. A difficult task. Clearly some feed, for instance, needs to be transferred to resolve this task. It is the task of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, planning organs, and other ministries and departments to observe the strictest economy here and ensure efficient use of transport.

The way to ensure successful harvesting is to disseminate the best experience and rely on people's initiative. By broadly assimilating various forms of contract and improving moral and material incentives, Communists are boosting everyone's responsibility for the task in hand. It is important to skillfully rely on local soviets and trade union and Komsomol organs. The situation does not require pro forma reports but timely and successful actions from primary party organizations and rural raykoms. What is the prime necessity here? To ensure that teams, links, and crews work well at harvesting and all partners collaborate efficiently. Industrial enterprises are currently giving great assistance to farms by providing people. City dwellers must be well received, accommodated, and fed, and normal work and leisure conditions must created in the fields—here, too, the organizing role of party committees must be demonstrated.

The attention of the mass media must be drawn to the concerns of crop farmers. It is the task of the local and central press, television, and radio to present a daily picture of the harvest, its experience, the problems and difficulties, and its heroes. The press is called upon to fulfill its threefold task as propagandist, agitator, and organizer by responsibly, promptly, and skillfully talking about the state of affairs at the farm, rayon, oblast, or republic level and in the country's agro-industrial complex.

Rural workers are facing a most complex test. It is our common duty to help them to pass it with flying colors.

'Progress' in Field Operations Reported

LD2107055288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0204 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] By the end of this week, cereal crops will have been mown on an area of about 15 million hectares of the country's farmlands. This information was provided by the USSR State Committee for Statistics in a routine report on progress in field operations. It also notes that threshing has been completed on nearly 10 million hectares. The gap betwen mowing and threshing is fairly great. This has been caused by the extremely unfavorable mowing conditions at many sovkhozes and kolkhozes. Pouring rain and squally winds have forced grain stalks to the ground on many millions of hectares.

Meanwhile, cereal crops are ripening quite fast due to high temperatures. Now farms in the south of the country's central region—in Volgo-Vyatskiy region—have started threshing. At the same time, fodder procurement is underway at farms. Grass has been mown on nearly 50 million hectares. Nearly a half of the planned amount of hay and 60 percent of silage have been procured. This is less than in the same period last year. Unfortunately, at certain farms the first cut of grass has been delayed. Meanwhile, rains have started, thereby making harvesting more difficult. However, the presence of moisture makes it possible to obtain a good second cut.

Agricultural Developments for 14-20 Jul

LD2107042288 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 14-20 July. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

14 July:

No fileworthy items monitored.

15 July:

Harvesting has started earlier than usual in Tataria this year. (1100)

16 July:

Harvesting of alfalfa for seeds is under way in Kirghizia on more than 50,000 hectares. (0600)

The situation with fodder procurement in Perm Oblast has been declared an emergency owing to unusually hot weather. (0600)

As drought has hit the Alatay, many voluntary workers have gone to the country to help to harvest the crops. The drought that has hit the entire territory of the kray has substantially damaged the harvest. (1300)

17 July:

Harvesting of winter crops has begun in the non-Chernozem zone of Ryazan Oblast. The harvest is uneven owing to the drought. One farm has achieved over 40 quintals per hectare. The harvest should take 10-12 days if the weather is good. (0600)

18 July:

In Belorussia, farms are completing the first cut of grass. Many farms have begun the second cutting. Today work is proceeding on the 3 millionth hectare. For winter, Belorussian farms have prepared almost 2 million tonnes of hay, three-quarters of the haylage quantity, and more than one-half of dehydrated fodder. (1100)

North Ossetiya's sovkhozes and kolkhozes began unloading grain at state storage points today. Valuable and strong types of wheat are coming into the Mozdak, Elkhotovo, Ardon, and Beslan grain product combines. Despite frequent rainfall, this year's harvest is good at the moment, up to 35 quintals of wheat per hectare. (1300)

The grain harvest has begun in Lipetsk Oblast. (1300)

19 July:

Tajik farms have procured 1 million tonnes of roughage; haylage accounts for half of the amount. (0204)

Uzbekistan grain growers have reached an important landmark in the sale of grain to the state: According to figures from the republic's State Statistics Committee, more than 325,000 tonnes of grain have already been delivered to the grain reception enterprises. This is almost 104 percent of the plan. The sale of grain to the state continues. (0801)

Sovkhozes and kolkhozes in Tambov Oblast have harvested cereals on the first 100,000 hectares. (1300)

A million tonnes of grain, among which 900,000 tonnes are strong and valuable varieties, have been sold to the state by today by don farms. (1530)

20 July:

Belgorod Oblast farmers have put the first 100,000 tonnes of grain of the new harvest into state storage facilities. (1300)

Scientific

Glavkosmos' Dunayev on Soviet Shuttle Launch

OW2107093088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2200 GMT 13 Jul 88

[From the "Man, Earth, and Universe" program, presented by Yeliseyev]

[Excerpt] [Yeliseyev] [Passage omitted on listeners' letters inquiring about the Energiya delivery vehicle, the Soviet shuttle program, and how it differs from the U.S. system] Great interest in Energiya is shown abroad, in particular by our Polish friends. This was revealed by Vitold Stefanovich, Moscow correspondent of Polish Radio and Television who, on a special errand for his editorial board, met and interviewed Aleksandr Ivanovich Dunayev, chief of the USSR Glavkosmos [Main Administration for the Development and Use of Space Engineering for the Economy and Research]. We have considered the coincidence in the interests of Polish and Soviet television viewers and agreed with our Polish friends that this interview should be shown in our program. [video shows Dunayev and Stefanovich sitting in a studio; date of the interview not given]

[Begin recording] [Stefanovich, speaking in Russian] Aleksandr Ivanovich, I have heard that we can expect the first launch of a Soviet reuseable craft [korabl mnogokratnogo polzovaniya] as early as next summer. Is this true?

[Dunayev] I think of it this way: Always, when we are asked these questions, we answer that technology is technology. Yes, we are now, in fact, conducting the concluding stage of research on a reuseable craft. However, we attach great importance to this launch and must ensure its success. It is known that our first reuseable craft will be controlled automatically in flight. Proceeding from the solution of this fundamental question, we are setting ourselves the task of the complete on-earth development of this craft, and the development of the mathematical solution [obespecheniye]; this is the main thing. You understand that this problem is much more complicated than a man-operated craft. In this connection, as soon as we reach the final stages and it becomes clear that everything is ready, we shall implement this launch. I think it will happen in the near future. I cannot say whether it will take a month or two, if everything goes according to plan, and the volume of the work to be done is, tentatively, planned for several months. It should be completed in a few months. Of course, if we encounter certain difficulties, it will take longer.

It is known that our policy in the sphere of space research differs from the Americans. We have always aimed at the use of one-use [odnorazovyy] delivery vehicles, and have said that their use for the delivery of useful loads in space is more justified economically. The reuseable systems should complement these and secure only the return of unique [word indistinct] loads from orbit to earth; in other words, these space transport systems should mutually correlate and complement each other.

[Stefanovich] Excuse me, you spoke about the U.S. spacecraft. Many viewers have the impression that the Soviet Union lags behind the United States in this sphere.

[Dunayev] I would not like to compare these and speculate on who leads and who lags behind. I can only say one thing: Development of the Energiya delivery vehicle has demonstrated to the whole world that we have found a solution which is more correct from the point of view of construction, than our American colleagues did, because we developed a delivery vehicle capable of launching not only (?reuseable) craft, but, at the same time [as heard], loads of up to 102 metric tons as well. As you know, the principle difference in the U.S. version

lies in there being no separate delivery vehicle, but there is a shuttle complex, which includes a reuseable craft, boosters, and, the main thing, the [word indistinct].

Well, when our reuseable system is launched and numerous papers [on the subject] published, you will see that we have found many technical solutions quite different [v drugom plane rakurse] from those in the American reuseable shuttle. It is difficult to boast now, but we think that our solutions are made at a sufficiently high level, and that these, in fact, can compete with the American version.

[Stefanovich] Aleksandr Ivanovich, what can now be said about the Soviet space ferry? A name, number of crew?

[Dunayev] We are still sitting and thinking—the question of what to call the whole system has not been finally solved. We have named the delivery vehicle Energiya though. As soon as all the general designers come to a common view on the name for the system, that name will be given to it. I think all these questions will be disclosed and answered in reports from the launching site and the scientific papers which will precede the launch. Currently, I must emphasize that the first flight will be automatically controlled, it will not be manned. [end recording]

Cosmonaut on New Shuttle

AU2207095988 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0500 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Roland Machatschke report on interview with Vladimir Dzhanibekov, "chief instructor of Soviet cosmonauts," in Vienna; date of interview not given]

[Excerpts] So far, there has been no photograph and no detailed description of the Soviet space shuttle. Only one thing is certain: It is about the same size as the American space shuttle, but unlike the shuttle it will be carried into space at the top of a rocket—Energiya, the most powerful rocket of the world. The new spaceship is not likely to be launched on its maiden flight before the end of this year. There are technological problems which will still have to be solved, explains Vladimir Dzhanibekov, but he does not go into any details.

The first and second flight of the Soviet shuttle will possibly be unmanned, with fully automatic control and automatic landing. Earlier, the American NASA space agency discarded such an idea, because it assessed that there was too great a risk that the spaceship, worth several billions, might be damaged or destroyed. According to Dzhanibekov, for the Soviets, maximum safety for the cosmonauts has priority. Apart from that, the Soviet space shuttle clearly shows that identical problems lead to similar solutions. In other words, a spacecraft which is to be launched like a rocket or at the top of a rocket and which is to return like an airplane cannot differ greatly in design from the shuttle.

The outward appearance of the two shuttles is similar, but this outward similarity cannot be explained by our having copied something—it is primarily due to aerodynamics. The interior design differs largely from the American one.

Like the American space shuttle, the Soviet one will be staffed with a crew between two and seven. And they, too, would hardly survive an emergency situation such as the one which ocurred during the last Challenger flight. Like the American space shuttle, the Soviet shuttle returns to earth without any propulsion, which means that the landing has to be very exact because the course of the fast and steeply descending craft can be altered only to a very limited degree. Even when its shuttle program is fully operative, the Soviet Union will continue to use the Soyuz spaceships it is currently using. [passage omitted]

The performance of the Soyuz spaceships, whose technological design has been repeatedly improved over the years, is highly satisfactory, Dzhanibekov says, adding that these spaceships are produced in series production and thus become cheaper with every flight. Cosmonaut Dzhanibekov finally expresses the opinion that some day the Americans will again resort to the Soyuz or Apollo system, because such spaceships are also needed in space travel.

'Mir' Cosmonauts Unload 'Progress-37' Craft

LD2207094588 Moscow TASS in English 0935 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—By the TASS correspondent at the Mission Control Center:

Soviet Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov have gone into their eighth month in space.

The orbiting platform Mir on which they are staying was docked yesterday with the fourth unmanned freighter sent aloft with supplies for them since the start of their long-duration flight.

After checking whether the linkup unit was airtight the spacemen opened the hatches and began unloading the cargo spacecraft, Progress-37.

Apart from this work, the crew today are to install a new block in the elektron system which is an extra source of oxygen on board the platform.

They are also to conduct technical experiments and another series of readings related to elementary charged particle flows in near-earth space.

Over the past few days the cosmonauts used the scientific equipment of the Kvant (Qantum) module to do a series of scheduled astrophysics studies focussing, in particular, on the Swan and Eagle constellations.

Titov and Manarov will work tomorrow as well, taking a day-off Sunday.

Their flight is proceeding normally.

Flights of Two Phobos Probes Continue

LD2207122588 Moscow TASS in English 1213 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—The Soviet space probes Phobos-1 and Phobos-2 launched respectively on July 7 and 12 to study the Sun, Mars and its moon Phobos are continuing their flight.

A total of 36 radio communications sessions have been conducted with the probes over the past days to measure the parameters of their flight paths, monitor the operation of their on-board systems and scientific equipment, and receive research data and telemetry information.

In keeping with the flight program, the space vehicles' trajectories were corrected on July 16 and 21. Readings taken after those maneuevers have showed that Phobos-1 and Phobos-2 are continuing their progress along trajectories that are close to reference ones.

By July 22, the probes were respectively 4.3 and 2.9 million kilometers away from earth.

According to telemetry readings, their on-board systems are functioning normally. The scientific information sent back by Phobos-1 and Phobos-2 is being processed and studied.